



JPRS Report

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INDIA

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Near East & South Asia

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International Affairs

Clinton Administration's Effect on Relations Seen Minimal

93AS0302A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 28 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Surendra Pratap Narayan Singh: "The Effect of the Change of the American Administration Upon the World"]

[Text] The new U.S. President and his democratic party have adopted an unclear policy on certain important issues such as the nonproliferation treaty, human rights, and intellectual copyright issues. The Democratic Party in the U.S. Congress has been very active enforcing these policies. During the election, Clinton and his party repeatedly affirmed these policies. Now, having come to power he cannot give any concessions.

We should keep certain issues clearly in focus—that developing countries like India should not expect more economic assistance from the new President, but they should endeavor to become self-sufficient. We should not overlook the fact that the Super 301 Act was passed by the same Senate in which the Democratic Party still enjoys full majority, and that it was the Bush administration that did not show any desire to pass it in a hurry. The Democratic Party has promised to advance the cause of American commercial interests. Clinton himself has said that he will open markets in the entire world for American goods. Clinton will also enforce the Super 301 Act and the Dunkel resolution with similar vigor. The Democratic Party is generally more stringent than the President on the issues of nuclear nonproliferation and human rights. Clinton, during his election campaign, said that Bush is far too easy on China. The Pressler Amendment was also passed by the Senate with this party's majority. It was then enforced on Pakistan, but a similar act or condition can also be imposed on India.

In the near future the new administration can press India to accept a Pakistani proposal that stipulates regional nuclear expansion. This can result in increased tension in both countries. In addition, the United States has already displayed its displeasure on the proposed Russian sale of rocket engines to India. In fact, California and France had valued the deal at 6,000 to 8,000 million rupees, but Russia agreed to sell it for only 2,500 million rupees. In this the United States decided to bring political and economic pressures on India. It blacklisted both the Indian Domestic Research Center (ISSE) and the Glavkosmos Research Centers. Under this restriction the United States will not deal with these centers for two years, and will not sell or export any equipment to them. It has also threatened India with a possible suspension of imports to the United States of certain Indian-made goods, Under Super 301. Exporting duty-free Indian medicine and chemicals to the United States is also prohibited. The United States can also exclude developing countries like India for 14 years from providing facilities under the primary schemes.

Clinton himself has said that U.S. foreign policy will not undergo any major change. The change in the presidency does not mean that the priorities of the country have changed. He was addressing a crowd on November 4, 1992, at the Arkansas governor's mansion. He did not say anything clearly about his policies but did indicate that he does not see any need for a major shift in the nation's foreign policy. He remarked that the Bush administration's efforts for western Asia peace talks, nuclear disarmament, world commerce talks, resolution of the issue of eastern Yugoslavian republics, and provision of assistance to draught stricken Somalis will continue.

Clinton, by affirming the need to establish a world order, proved that he too asserts the right of the United States to be an organizer of such an order. But certain of his decisions for establishing such an order can be suicidal for him. If he practices what he preaches, India can be hurt. If not the Punjab, Kashmir is fully responsible for shadowing its record on human rights. Clinton's desire to see Asia a totally nuclear-free zone, is a matter of concern for Pakistan, North Korea, Libya, and Iraq, along with India.

Clinton did not emphasize foreign policy during his election campaign. On the eve of his election day, but before the election results, he said that foreign policy will merit consideration for change only if it impacts economic growth. This affirms that Clinton's foreign policy will follow in the footsteps of the former presidents, and will incorporate any change only to protect its own self interests.

Hence, India should not dream of any improved relations under the new administration, nor should it consider that the new president will shower any kindness on it. How wonderful would it be if India had tried to become self-reliant. It was only a few days ago that our respected prime minister Mr. Rao paid a visit to France. He asked for nuclear fuel from France. France denied the request in the wake of certain controversial clauses. The prime minister had to return empty-handed. How delightful did it appear when our scientists assured the prime minister that India will be self-reliant within the next 10 to 15 years.

India is important to the United States not only economically, but also from the point of view of world security. If India does not demonstrate reliance on the United States, then the American administration will clearly understand the limits of its strategic policy of applying pressure. Clinton realizes that even after the demise of the Soviet Union the Soviet challenge has not ceased to exist. In order to exercise control over middle Asia and Iran, the United States cannot overlook the geographic importance of India. Therefore, to forge new relationships it is not important for the United States to be the initiator; our initiation also deserves substantial merit. The only need is to evaluate the comprehensive international political situation and then to make a solid far-sighted decision.

Rao Makes Statement at Dakar Summit
93AS0285A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
22 Nov 92 p 6

[Text] Dakar, Nov. 21—India today called for global efforts to close the gap between the poor and the rich countries to sustain international development through appropriate adjustment of the world economy and the international monetary system.

Making a country statement at the closed-door session of the third summit of the Group of 15 developing countries (G-15), the Prime Minister Mr. Narasimha Rao made a strong plea for treating the external debt of Third World countries as a global issue mirroring structural deficiencies in the international economic system.

Stating that a purely simplistic monetary approach cannot solve the problem faced by the developing countries, Mr. Rao said increasing protectionist trends should yield place to a global economy based on long-term patterns of growth, with the benefits available to all.

Urging the industrialised North to seek solutions through dialogue with the South to overcome the fundamental shortcomings, Mr. Rao said the framework of interdependence among nations with equal partnership had to be restored to the international economic order.

Mr. Rao, who had earlier spoken on behalf of the Asian countries at the opening session in the morning, touched on a wide range of issues from South-South cooperation to the problems faced by some countries in tackling poverty and terrorism.

Fundamental Problems

Mr. Rao regretted that the world has still not got rid of some of its fundamental problems even though there were some positive developments like end of the cold war.

He specifically referred to the continuing anguish in the erstwhile Yugoslavia and the famine and civil war in Somalia. Localised conflicts still loomed large even though the danger of a nuclear holocaust had receded.

Mr. Rao said barriers and preconditions to trade and terrorism, especially of the sort instigated and supported from across international boundaries, were still evading solutions.

Dwelling on the G-15, Mr. Rao said the group has signalled to the world that it was a dependable partner in growth by adopting and projecting a pragmatic and practical world view.

Mr. Rao said G-15 should not function as a "closed club" and that it should be a catalyst to extend cooperation among all developing countries.

"Therefore what India or any one among us offers, should be available to all developing countries," he said.

He cited the Indian proposal for setting up a vocational training centre in Africa and offering training facilities in computer operations as an example of its commitment to further South-South cooperation.

Common Concern

Mr. Rao suggested that the representatives of the G-15 should meet in the coming months to evolve an approach to areas of common concern with a view to take up North-South dialogue.

"This can bring about long-term stabilisation of the global economy and lend greater weight and credence to our efforts with G-7. Long-term solutions must be based on transparency, equity and cooperation action," Mr. Rao said.

Four Aspects

The Prime Minister said developing countries must take into account four aspects while chalking out a strategy on their future course of action.

Firstly, the developing countries were placed in a world that was unfavourable to it in many aspects like trade being hampered, under pricing of commodities and monetary systems being held hostage to outside influence.

Secondly, the developing countries were confronted by the paradox of an increasing globalisation of the world economy together with the wide chasm that persisted between the North and the South.

Thirdly, the Third World must make development in all its aspects, particularly scientific and technological, as its primary objective.

Fourthly, there was no alternative to cooperation. Mr. Rao said many countries in the G-15 had embarked upon far-reaching social and economic changes by freeing the economy from unnecessary control.

U.S. Seeks Observer Status

The United States and China are among the five countries which have sought observer status in the G-15.

According to Indian delegation sources, Iran, Italy and Switzerland have also expressed their desire to have observer status in the G-15.—PTI

Amnesty Plea on Special Powers Act Unacceptable

93AS0283A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 24 Nov 92 p 9

[Article by Subhashi Kirpekar: "Amnesty Request Unacceptable to Government"]

[Text] The Times of India News Service, New Delhi, November 23—A meeting ground between Amnesty International and the Union government on the former's

request to repeal special legislation in force in terrorist-affected states appears unlikely in view of the sharply divergent positions taken by the two sides.

According to Amnesty, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act "empowered the security forces to shoot to kill with immunity from prosecution." It also wants government to review withdrawing a clutch of other special legislations like the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (prevention) Act or TADA, the National Security Act or (NSA) and the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act.

The government's view is that Amnesty shows "scant regard for the responsibilities of the government towards its citizens." Also that Amnesty refused to take cognisance of the special situation created by large-scale terrorist activities in certain parts of the country and draws an "unjustified conclusion" that the Armed Forces (special powers) Act grants to security forces amnesty from prosecution for "anything done or purported to be done" under the act.

The government points out that the armed forces personnel have to act under the provisions of law and strictly according to the code of conduct laid down for them. Asserting that members of the forces were not a law unto themselves, the government said they were accountable for their actions as per the law of the land.

TADA, as it was explained, was designed to meet the extraordinary situation arising out of terrorist activities. TADA was not a permanent feature of the legislative framework of India. It would be unfortunate if conclusions on the legal system of the country are drawn based upon special enactment of this kind which was meant to deal with a particular situation in an effective manner.

The government has also pointed out to the London-based Amnesty International that a number of special provisions to deal with terrorists are contained in the Prevention of Terrorism (temporary provisions) Act, 1981 of the United Kingdom. Amnesty has not urged the British government to review this act but was prompt in urging the British government not to forcibly return Karamjit Singh Chahal to India. The Amnesty report of 1992 describes Chahal as a Sikh separatist who has lived in the U.K. for 20 years and claimed that he would face torture if returned to India. The case to deport him is still pending, the report said.

It has also been pointed out to Amnesty that Pakistan has promulgated the terrorist-affected areas (special courts) ordinance 1991 which empowered the government to declare any area as "terrorist affected" and to set up special courts for speedy trial. Amnesty's latest country report on Pakistan states that these courts do not conform to international standards for fair trial even though they had powers to condemn prisoners to death after trials lasting only a few days.

Neighbouring Sri Lanka also had the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and persons could be detained

without trial for long periods under emergency regulations. In its report, Amnesty has blamed the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] for gross human rights abuses in Sri Lanka.

Government has also drawn the attention of Amnesty to the international covenant on civil and political rights, so often referred to in Amnesty's reports. The preamble talks about enjoyment of civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want being possible only if conditions are achieved whereby everyone enjoys these rights together with economic, social and cultural rights.

According to the government, the covenant also permits dilution of the norms of human rights in certain situations. It quotes article 4 thus: "In time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the state may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation."

The government stated that in spite of this international understanding and recognition of the problems arising for the member countries in certain situations such as insurgency and terrorism, the Amnesty report of 1992 showed scant regard for the responsibilities of the government towards its own citizens.

The report also makes sweeping generalisations to state that thousands of people have been detained without trial and "torture and ill-treatment occur routinely during counter-insurgency operations to flush out suspected members and supporters of these groups." The bias of the report is again brought out fully in the statement such as "in the northeast states, and Jammu and Kashmir there is a pattern of rape of women by army and paramilitary forces for perceived support for armed insurgents. Rape and ill-treatment of women by the police is widespread throughout the country."

The government maintained that allegations against the security forces are being investigated fully and pursued vigorously.

Rao Meets With 'Arafat, Karoui in Tunis

93AS0282A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 21 Nov 92 p 9

[Text] Tunis, Nov. 20 (UNI)—Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao held discussions on the West Asia situation with Palestine leader Yasir 'Arafat here today.

The meeting assumed significance in the light of the ongoing West Asian peace talks.

Mr. 'Arafat is understood to have briefed Mr. Rao about the progress achieved so far in the peace process.

During a brief stopover here on his way to Dakar in Senegal for the G-15 summit, Mr. Rao had talks on issues of mutual interest with Tunisian Prime Minister Hamed Karoui.

Mr. Narasimha Rao was received at the airport by Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahia. Since it was not a formal visit to Tunisia, there were no formalities at the airport and Mr. Rao drove straight to the state guest house where he met the Tunisian Prime Minister.

Mr. Rao held talks with Mr. Karoui for about 35 minutes.

After their talks, the two leaders continued their meeting with a formal luncheon.

Since 1984 when Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited Tunisia, interaction between the two nations had been rather infrequent. Efforts are now being made by the Indian government to establish closer contact.

Minister of State for External Affairs Eduardo Faleiro was here earlier this year to reciprocate the Tunisian Foreign Minister's visit to India in August 1991. Tunisian President Ben Ali is likely to visit India in March or April next.

The Indo-Tunisia joint commission had, at a meeting in Delhi last month identified areas for greater economic cooperation. These concerned the fields of petroleum exploration, agriculture, information, technology and desalinisation of brackish water.

Known for their moderate disposition, the Tunisian leaders have been known for their abhorrence for terrorism like India and they take a balanced view even on the contentious Indo-Pakistan disputes.

At the luncheon meeting, Mr. Rao said "countries like Tunisia and India have the responsibility of caring for, and carrying into the councils of human kind, the voice of sanity and goodwill."

"We have demonstrated our practical capacities for such cooperation in the United Nations, notably in the special committee on decolonisation, and within forums such as the movement of non-aligned countries and the Group of 77. We remain committed to uphold the dignity and worth of human beings," Mr. Rao said.

Mr. Rao expressed his happiness over the Tunisian Prime Minister's "wish that India-Tunisia cooperation in various fields be invigorated further." "Our new Ambassador who has just taken charge of his responsibilities will work closely with your government to see this is ensured," he added.

Faleiro Tells Press of Somalia Visit

93AS0284A Madras THE HINDU in English
23 Nov 92 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 22—India has begun making active diplomatic moves to end the Somalian civil war through national reconciliation.

This was stated by the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro during a press meet here on Saturday. He visited Somalia recently and his presence

in Mogadishu, the capital and a port town of Somalia, was a rare occasion. Few foreign political leaders have visited the country in the recent past.

Mr. Faleiro said he met the President of the Somali interim government, Mr. Ali Mahdi, and a leader of a major faction, Gen. Aideed, and had highlighted India's support to the idea of national reconciliation.

Mr. Faleiro said both leaders endorsed this view but Gen. Aideed had expressed reservations on the scope of a U.N. role in this approach. Gen. Aideed said the U.N. initiative if any should be secondary to the Somali effort to end the civil war.

Before reaching Somalia, Mr. Faleiro had met the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and the two leaders had focused on the need to bring the Somalian factions together in order to set up a government acceptable to all sides.

This idea is expected to gain ground when the international aid donors to Somalia meet in Addis Ababa early December. Both Mr. Mahdi and Gen. Aideed have been invited to attend the meet. Mr. Faleiro said it was doubtful whether an international reconciliation meet under U.N. initiative could take place in January next year contrary to what some Somalia watchers believed.

India's Role

On what India was planning to do, after his Mogadishu visit, Mr. Faleiro declined to elaborate but said India was likely to get in touch with the U.N., NAM [Non-Aligned Movement] and the OAU [Organization of African Unity]. Significantly, a NAM group has been formed to help Somalia and the OAU in its coming session is likely to focus on the Somali situation.

On the current relief efforts, Mr. Faleiro said India had dispatched a second consignment of food and medicines, which had reached Somalia.

Regional Affairs

NBC Declaration of Pakistani Nuclear Capability Viewed

No Longer Speculation

93AS0328A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
15 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Ray Singh: "The Danger of Pakistani Bombs Is No Longer Speculation"]

[Text] On December 1, when Tom Brokaw of the American NBC network nightly news informed his viewers that Pakistan possessed seven nuclear bombs, they were shocked but not surprised. They were not surprised because during the last decade one could clearly infer that Pakistan had the capability to produce nuclear

bombs. Abdul Kadir Khan the father of Pakistan's nuclear bomb publicly revealed in October 1990 that Pakistan had developed a nuclear bomb. Soon after this revelation, the United States under its Pressler Amendment, stopped military assistance to Pakistan and also banned other categories of assistance. President George Bush did not lift these bans against Pakistan, in spite of Pakistan's support of the U.S. war effort against Iraq and in the Gulf, because of its continued struggle to develop nuclear bombs.

Quoting Steve Brain, a former Pentagon official, NBC said that the U.S. Department of Commerce acted as a Pakistani agent for buying various articles during this period. Brain also said that "it appeared to me that Pakistan had a free hand in buying whatever it desired from Western Europe and the United States, and there was no one to stop it in so doing." In fact after its 1991 defeat in the Bangladesh war, Pakistan decided to go nuclear. The then Pakistani leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that for Pakistan no sacrifice would be too large to persist in its policy of developing nuclear weapons. It was Bhutto who persuaded Libya, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab countries to donate liberally to the cause of developing an Islamic bomb. Pakistani embassies all over the world were instructed to assist those agents who were involved with either buying or stealing nuclear secrets, to include plans, drawings, parts, etc., in foreign countries for Pakistan. One Pakistani nuclear scientist was even apprehended while stealing secret documents in Holland. Similar incidents were also reported from countries like the United States, Britain, Germany, France, and other Western European nations. However, in the guise of the Western and American policy all such dealings were overlooked. Iraq employed the weapons it obtained from the United States, Britain, Germany, France and other Western countries, against the joint allied army in its Gulf war. It is unfortunate that even today the United States, China, and certain Western powers, in order to bring pressure on India, are supporting Pakistan in developing its nuclear program. In so doing and in following the policy to pressure India, these countries can hurt themselves. These countries should not forget that in the Islamic countries, Islamic fundamentalism and militancy are becoming so intense that there is a real danger of an armed conflict between Islamic fundamentalists and the Western nations.

NBC, citing a CIA report in its December 2 broadcast, said that Pakistan developed two 12.5 kiloton nuclear bombs on May 21, 1990. Later in the same year, during September and October, Pakistan and India experienced escalated tensions, and Pakistani officials also considered a nuclear attack on India. According to Pakistani intelligence, a sudden attack could destroy the Indian military force with a single strike. President Bush, upon learning about Pakistan's such dangerous intentions, dispatched Robert Gates, his assistant national security advisor, on a trip to India and Pakistan and thus neutralized this difficult situation. This clarifies two things. One that Pakistani leaders are determined to use

nuclear weapons against India, and secondly, in spite of the American ban and Pakistan's displeasure with America, the U.S. President continues to influence the Pakistani leaders. It is difficult to predict the nature and the extent of future U.S. influence on Pakistan after Bill Clinton assumes the presidency on January 20, 1993. India should, however, not disregard the fact that Pakistan has now developed five nuclear bombs with a force of 12 to 18 kilotons.

Until recently, U.S. military experts have maintained that the U.S. refusal to export forty modern F-16 bombers to Pakistan saved India from sudden Pakistani nuclear attacks. The modern F-16 bombers can carry more than one nuclear bomb, are capable of crossing the border within seconds, and can drop these bombs on Indian territory. The same U.S. experts also say that at this time Pakistan can use only American made C-130 transport planes to deliver nuclear bombs, and America has banned such use of these planes. The time that a C-130 transport plane takes to cross the Indian border would permit India to prepare and activate its security measures. All this, however, is to console India. China has now armed Pakistan with ballistic missiles capable of downpouring its nuclear bombs on India without any C-130 or F-16 bombers.

The American daily LOS ANGELES TIMES published a report on December 4, giving CIA officials as its source, stating that since November 15 China has delivered 24 of its M-11 missiles to Pakistan at the Pakistani port city of Karachi. With these Chinese missiles Pakistan can drop nuclear bombs on Delhi right from its own soil. China has been exporting M-9 and M-11 missiles since the beginning of the 1980s. Pakistani specialists selected the M-11 missile because this ground-to-ground missile uses easily available solid fuel and has an accurate aim.

It should be noted that the Bush administration, upon learning that China had supplied launchers for the M-11 missiles to Pakistan, banned the export of high speed computers and satellite parts to China. Later, when the Secretary of State James Baker visited China, America lifted this ban based on an assurance given by China that it would not export these missiles either to Pakistan or Iran. At the beginning of this year China agreed on paper that it would not export to any member country of the International Missile Technology Program Agreement any missile with a range of 400 kilometers and capacity to carry a 800 kilogram warhead. Clearly, by exporting M-9 and M-11 missiles to Pakistan and Iran, China has openly violated the Missile Technology Control Program, and has indulged in an activity opposing India.

Now it is common knowledge that China, by providing its nuclear testing facilities to Pakistan, has made it an nuclear power. The details of the China-Pakistan concealed nuclear cooperation are recorded in the American Defense Intelligence Agency's document dated June 19, 1991. Certain portions of this document have been made public under the Freedom of Information Act. The published portions of this document clearly demonstrate

that neither Rajiv Gandhi's trip to China nor Prime Minister Lee Fong's trip to India changed China's policy of opposing India.

Whatever America may have done for India, but the American Senator Larry Pressler has certainly done a great service to India by revealing to NBC that Pakistan has all the implements to put together a nuclear bomb and given the orders its scientists are capable of assembling a nuclear bomb in three to four hours. In substance, Larry Pressler stressed the fact that Pakistan may not have a nuclear bomb, per se, but it has everything in its arsenals to put one together.

In Islamabad during the first week of December when the foreign press asked the Pakistani foreign ministry spokesman to comment on Senator Pressler's statement, he routinely repeated like a parrot that "Pakistan does not have a nuclear bomb." This was in spite of Pakistan's foreign secretary Shaiyar Khan's recent statement during his American trip that Pakistan has the technical capability to produce a nuclear bomb, and it has no intention to relinquish this competence. Pakistan argues that India demonstrated this capability in 1974, and as such Pakistan cannot unilaterally relinquish this expertise. Pakistan also says that India's acceptance of the terms offered by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif can advance the dialogue to the next stage. The conditions include a formula for a joint conference between India, Pakistan, China, Russia, and the United States to arrest the proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia. India disagrees with this suggestion because China, Russia, and the United States already possess this capability. Richard Bosher, spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, said in his December 2 statement that we are gravely concerned about the Pakistani nuclear activities. NBC also said in its broadcast that the Pakistan Army has deceitfully developed seven nuclear bombs with the assistance of the United States and many Western countries. Not even President Saddam Hussain was able to amass the nuclear devices. Iraq only had an arsenal of poisonous gases. Only such a (insignificant) situation alarmed America. Pakistan now has seven already developed nuclear bombs. According to American intelligence, Pakistan is also ready to use these bombs. In contrast to the Gulf situation, this presents a far more serious predicament. Therefore, the gravity of the American concern is legitimate and natural. What we have to watch is the extent America extends its hand of cooperation to India, in order to seek a solution to these concerns.

Secrets Now Revealed

93AS0328B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 7 Dec 92 p 4

[Editorial: "The Revelation of Pakistan's Conspiracy"]

[Text] A report produced by the prominent American spy agency CIA after six months of research on Pakistani nuclear secrets is a matter of serious concern. The Pakistan Army possesses at least seven nuclear bombs. Each bomb equals the destructive force of the one

America dropped on Hiroshima. The Pakistan Army has deceitfully obtained the capability to successfully assemble these bombs with the assistance of America and other Western countries. Prior to this revelation, it was said that China had also assisted Pakistan in its nuclear program. This information provided by the American Central Intelligence Agency cannot be wrong. This is why former President Reagan could not approve assistance to Pakistan, even though he wanted to do so. President Bush followed the same policy. As a result Pakistan remained deprived of U.S. assistance, and in spite of its best efforts, it could not obtain any aid. The U.S. Senator Larry Pressler had advanced knowledge of this information, and as such, he was able to propose and enact legislation depriving Pakistan of the U.S. aid. Senator Pressler has now himself disclosed that Pakistan has seven nuclear bombs and is capable of delivering them on target. This disclosure unveils the true intentions of Pakistan. Earlier, after obtaining substantial U.S. military aid, Pakistan attacked India. Using the Sabre jets and Patton tanks obtained from America, it tried to swallow Kashmir by attacking India. It did not, however, succeed. Pakistan talked of the nonproliferation treaty on one hand, and was ceaselessly developing the nuclear bomb on the other hand, secretly. The reports available from the CIA disclose Pakistan's surreptitious activities clearly.

While exposing Pakistan's nuclear secrets, the CIA said that the plotting for nuclear weapons effort came to light during former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's time. She had assured the U.S. Congress that Pakistan neither possessed any nuclear weapons nor did it intend to develop one. In this context one recollects the lengthy radio speech by former Prime Minister Bhutto where he said that Pakistan will go hungry but it will develop nuclear weapons. Benazir Bhutto probably does not recall her father's firm determination in this regard. In any event Pakistan's ulterior intentions could not be kept disguised. Quoting Steve Brain, a former official of the U.S. Department of Defense, it was reported that the U.S. Department of Commerce acted as a Pakistani agent. Pakistan was warned in 1984. It appears strange that, on one hand the U.S. Congress imposed a ban on Pakistan on developing nuclear weapons, and on the other the U.S. Department of Commerce assisted Pakistan in buying new technology worth millions of dollars. It should also be remembered that a Pakistani official was arrested for stealing barred materials. Pakistan has thus, by numerous covert means, finally succeeded in developing a nuclear bomb. It has also acquired some nuclear secrets from China, by giving away a certain Indian-held portion of Kashmir to China, after an attack and illegal possession. This incident was reported in the press. If all these facts are evaluated en masse, it becomes obvious that Pakistan has obtained the technical competence and the required materials to assemble a nuclear bomb by deceitful and covert means. Now, a world prominent spy agency, after six months of intense effort, has systematically disclosed this secret.

Pakistan has consistently maintained that the function of its six nuclear plants located near Islamabad is only to generate energy. The disguised use of the nuclear power for peaceful purposes is just a sample of Pakistan's intentions of deceiving the world. U.S. Senator John Glenn has called it a Pakistani scandal. He says that Pakistan lied when it told us that they were not developing a nuclear bomb. With the reality now uncovered, the entire situation is unclouded, and the Pakistani lies stand exposed. Pakistan, like it used to say, still reiterates that it does not possess nuclear weapons. It describes its nuclear program as peaceful. Pakistan had developed the nuclear bomb in October 1990. That is why the United States impeded its aid of over \$500 million to Pakistan. At the beginning of this year Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif admitted that Pakistan possesses the technical ability to assemble a nuclear device but would not do so. He also said that so long as Pakistan's adversary India does not abandon its nuclear program, Pakistan will not discontinue its. He again disclaimed owning any nuclear bombs. The Pakistani spokesman while talking about a possible threat from India reiterated the need for the five-nation joint meeting on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. The concern shown in the Indian Parliament on the disclosures by Senator Pressler is natural. Pakistan regards India as its arch enemy, but India does not consider Pakistan as such. India wants to continue to have brotherly relations with Pakistan. Therefore, India always stresses peace talks and mutual cooperation.

Hindi Paper Reports on Pakistan TV Propaganda on Border

*BK1412155192 Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES
in Hindi 2 Dec 92 p 5*

[Article By Kamal Seni; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The number of Doordarshan [Indian Television] viewers continues to decline following the challenge posed to it by foreign networks. This is revealed in various surveys done in the Indian metropolis and big cities. Many surveys carried out in the metropolis show that 38 percent of Indian television viewers have now turned toward foreign telecasts—especially late night hot films and other such programs, which are drawing a lot of viewers away from Doordarshan. As part of this process, Pakistan Television has launched a well-organized cultural offensive in the Indian border states. It is worth mentioning here that India has a long border with Pakistan, from the Siachen glacier to the Rann of Kutch bay, and it has installed high-power transmitters in the border areas for improved transmissions. Pakistan's cultural offensive is now in full swing along the entire border.

Pakistan Television, through its popular drama serials and music programs, has fascinated a large group of Indian viewers in the sensitive border states. A survey carried out in the border areas of Punjab, Kashmir, and Rajasthan reveals that 80 to 85 percent of the TV audience also watches Pakistan Television, including its

news casts. Indian films and Chitrhar musical programs shown on Doordarshan are also popular at a few places, but Pakistan Television has established a wider audience in the border areas. Pakistan has set up a high-power relay center near the Kashmir Line of Control at Muzaffarabad in the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir to make its cultural offensive more effective. Doordarshan had started low-power LHF system transmissions from its relay centers in the border cities of Atari, Sriganganagar, Karanpur, and Raisinghnagar on 4 November. But immediately Pakistan Television increased its activity to counter Doordarshan telecasts, and its relays have become clearer with stronger signals. Some of its programs, seen earlier only by setting up an antenna, can now be seen easily without an antenna. Other than increasing the strength of its relay centers, Pakistan Television has also made some changes in its programs

The programs of Islamabad, Lahore, and Karachi stations are relayed by the high-power relay centers at Faisalabad, Multan, Bahawalpur, and Bahawalnagar. The Lahore transmissions are most clear. The number of feature films has been increased. More names are being added to popular serials like 'Neelam Ghar [Auction House]' and 'Paanch Kabutar [Five Pigeons]'.

Pakistan Television's 1400 GMT English news bulletin and 1500 GMT Urdu news bulletin can now be watched on an ordinary TV set clearly like a mirror. Giving this information, Indian viewers of Pakistan Television also report that during this time jamming has been reported on the transmissions of Doordarshan relay centers. The jamming has been felt from Kesarisingh in Sriganganagar District to Chatargarh in Bikaner District of Rajasthan. Pakistan Television has established its full influence in the border towns of Karanpur, Gajsinghpur, Raisinghnagar, and Anupgarh, and their adjoining villages. It is claimed that Doordarshan's 150-foot high towers of relay centers at Karanpur and Raisinghnagar have a transmission capacity of 300 watts [as published] with a range of 20 km, but it is difficult to watch them at a distance of 10-12 km even with a booster. Transmissions from Doordarshan's Bikaner relay center, situated 60 km from the India-Pakistan border, which started from 4 November, are also in disarray.

Among the border states, Kashmir and Punjab could be directly influenced by Pakistan Television, which continues to transmit anti-Indian programs encouraging terrorism. The situation in the big cities of Punjab and Kashmir is such that even an ordinary viewer from a village recognizes the most minor actor of Pakistan Television, while 80 percent of the Doordarshan audience admit that it is better to see these beautiful faces and know about development overseas than watch Doordarshan's films and its programs about Indian leaders. How can Doordarshan break this trend of cultural offensive in a given situation? Here it is worth mentioning that Pakistan Television is considered one of the best TV networks in the world, being equipped with the most sophisticated equipment and technical means.

Articles Condemn Pakistani Support for Militant Groups**Aggravating Situation in Kashmir***93AS0301A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 3 Dec 92 p 4*

[Editorial: "Terrorist Developments in Kashmir"]

[Text] The situation in Kashmir valley is still distressful while the circumstances in the Punjab have changed. Under these recent circumstances, the issue of reviving political activity in Kashmir, as stated at the Central level and in the speeches of certain Central ministers, appears to be totally meaningless. The change in the Central government's stand is evident from a recent statement made by the Central Home Affairs Minister Mr. Shankarrao Chavan in the Rajyasabha. Mr. Chavan said that the conditions in the Kashmir valley are not yet ripe for initiating political activity and conducting elections. He expressed this view based on the parliamentary delegation's recent visit to the valley. Although the delegation headed by Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad, Central minister of parliamentary affairs, has yet to submit a formal report, it has indicated in meetings with the prime minister and the home minister that the circumstances conducive for elections are nonexistent in the valley. The delegation has said that, in order to reduce the widespread terrorist scare and the threat of the arms they possess, it is essential to maintain pressure on the terrorists. It has also asked the people to try to identify themselves as part of the main stream and not consider themselves neglected entities. The prevailing conditions permitted the members to visit only the Srinagar and Baramula areas and not Laddak and Jammu. Although Anantnag was included in their itinerary it had to be sacrificed in the interest of safety. This in itself provides a good reading of the situation in the valley.

After the elections in the Punjab, some Central ministers and party members encouraged by moderate successes in curbing terrorist activities under the direction of Parliament, are interested in initiating political activity in the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, which has been under presidential rule for a long time. They have started exchanging ideas with leaders of other parties. It was in this context that the special parliamentary delegation was dispatched to Kashmir to evaluate the political winds. The Central home minister also consulted several former area legislators. After its return the delegation made it amply clear that the results of the Punjab experiment cannot be applied to Kashmir valley. It has also revealed that prevailing conditions are much more serious and alarming because of terrorist activities and state politics. This was also evident when representatives of several political parties from Jammu and Kashmir declined the Central home minister's invitation to a meeting to discuss the Kashmir issue. The former chief minister, whose response was central to the expectations of the Central leaders, did not respond. The representatives of the People's Party, which is hostile to the Central Government, not only did not attend the talks but also

issued press statements asking the government to invite terrorist representatives and Pakistan to the meeting. This clearly indicates that none of those who claim to represent the people of the valley, excluding congress leaders, is willing to open talks with the government. And the so-called congress leaders exercise no influence there. It is clear that any evaluation of the valley should be comprehensive and include the entire region of Laddak, Jammu, and the rest of the state.

A different solution different from that applied to Punjab must be found for suppressing the Kashmiri terrorists because of the Indian and Pakistani armies' state of alertness near the Line of Control [LOC] in Kashmir and the differences of the Laddak and Jammu situation. The armies have clashed several times. The aid from the Pakistani Army to the Pakistani-trained terrorists and intruders as they cross the border makes control of terrorism in the area difficult. The terrorists who have crossed the border have established networks in the form of training centers located in Pakistani-controlled areas and in their hiding places in the populated areas of the valley. The Indian Army is burdened with an important responsibility in this area. In such a complex situation, a mere police force cannot control the terrorist activity where intruders dressed as armed Afghan mojahedin try to cross the borders. While formulating any policy on Jammu-Kashmir, the situation in Jammu and Laddak—an area neglected in the wake of prevailing problems of the valley—should be simultaneously considered. Also, the refugees and destitute who have been forced to leave the region must be considered. The home minister while talking about the financial problems of the state, mentioned making available food grains and other necessities, and also stressed the need for the common man's participation in developmental schemes. The refugee problem should be seen hand in hand with this. India should invigorate its international efforts to counter Pakistani propaganda. Some Islamic nations are also supporting Pakistan on this issue. To control these dreadful acts of terror in today's Kashmir, there is no other solution but to strictly enforce necessary measures. The Indian forces should be posted as necessary in the sensitive border areas.

Intelligence Agencies Very Active*93AS0301B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 28 Nov 92 p 6*

[Article by B.K. Cham: "Pak Intelligence Agencies' War Strategy"]

[Text] Official sensors indicate that Pakistani security agencies are now actively involved in rejuvenating the Sikh militants. This suggests that the resistance against the Sikh militants by the Punjab Security Forces is now entering a new phase.

Until now these agencies, especially the ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence], used to assist the Sikh militants in training, delivering weapons, and crossing the borders. But since the Indian forces have increased their vigilance

in watching the Sikh militants and have killed most of their leaders and armed units, it is said that Pakistani agencies have changed their modus operandi. Specifically, their agents now indirectly assist in reorganizing the Sikh militants.

In this context, official sources regard the approaching winter as crucial, because in spite of constantly increasing vigilance by the security forces, the focal effort of Pakistani agencies will be to provide assistance to these militants. The snowfalls in Kashmir will make it almost impossible to reach the valley, which in turn will make it difficult for the Sikh militants and their Pakistani counterparts to cross the border.

It is assumed that VIPs will be the main targets of these Sikh militants. In fact, sensing such a danger, officials have tightened security for certain VIPs. Police officials are irritated that, in spite of repeated warnings, these VIPs, especially the politicians and legislators, not only ignore the specified security measures but also at times misuse them.

Security guards are provided for all 117 area legislators. Ten guards are always posted at their individual residences, and five guards escort their official vehicles. But very often these legislators carry their supporters in the forward-moving security jeep. Ordinarily, the legislators themselves drive the jeep reducing their security guards to one or two. This makes them easy targets for Sikh militants. Under these circumstances, the officials consider it their good luck that no legislator, so far, has been shot by the militants. This in part may also be due to increased surveillance by the security forces.

Each minister in the Punjab ministry is authorized a pilot and an escort car. Their cars being replaced with bulletproof vehicles. To meet this objective 30 cars are being converted into bulletproof cars. In all, 110 cars will be so modified. This number is in addition to the cars used by senior police officers and prominent politicians. These politicians include former chief minister and Akali leader Sri Prakash Singh Badal, Sri Surjit Singh Barnala, and former minister and Akali legislator Sri Amrinder Singh. Also included is the general secretary of the Marxist Party, Sri Harkishan Singh Surjit.

The Punjab government is spending approximately 60 million rupees on these bulletproof cars. During the current year the tentative 2,650-million-rupee Punjab police budget is expected to swell to an estimated 4,000 million rupees.

Should Be Publicly Proclaimed

93AS0301C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 29 Nov 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Let Pakistan's Terrorism Be Announced"]

[Text] It is common knowledge that Pakistani terrorism has now reached a climax. All countries agree to oppose the terrorism with a unified voice. It is therefore natural that India has proposed antiterrorism

legislation in its parliament. This proposal has unequivocal support, and legislators have presented specific suggestions to improve it. These suggestions require that the issue of Pakistani terrorism be voted on internationally. The demand for declaring Pakistan a terrorist nation has been in the works for a long time. Recently the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation [SAARC] decided to take effective steps against terrorism. The Indian interest and initiative in this regard was very timely and appropriate. India's effort was based on the belief that simply passing resolutions in conferences is not enough to repress terrorism. A joint international effort is essential to eradicate terrorism. The resolutions presented during the SAARC conference recognize that terrorism draws protests from every quarter. In reality, therefore, terrorism has influenced international politics. In Kashmir, Punjab, and Assam the terrorist activities have given rise to widespread violence and dreadful fear. These perilous conditions leave the common man unprotected and fearful. This situation has turned even everyday peaceful life into a living hazard. The problem has become so acute that an urgent resolution is imperative.

The resolution against Pakistani terrorism intensely criticizes Pakistan because it is behind all terrorist activities in India. It is following a policy of promoting violence and fear in India by all means possible, including the use of youth by giving them resources and money and by spying on them. To this end, Pakistan operates training centers where youth are trained. Along with the training in guerrilla warfare they are provided with the latest weapons. Some youth opt for this training in the charm of monetary greed, some are forced by trickery. Pakistan remains unconcerned amidst all these allegations. Even advise against terrorism by those in the international [community] who are familiar with Pakistani terrorism has not made a dent in the policy. As a matter of fact, whenever Pakistan speaks out on this issue, it openly asserts its continuing support for terrorism. No wonder then, we demand to declare such a nation, which openly supports terrorism, a "terrorist nation." The basic objective, thus, of the legislation proposed in parliament is to stop terrorist activities and to develop a universal grass-roots awakening against it.

Needless to say, all nations of the world are familiar with the Pakistani terrorist tactics. The United States, in spite of having sympathy for Pakistan and providing weapons to Afghan rebels, has advised Pakistan several times not to take part in Kashmir and Punjab issues by sending arms to terrorists. The only reason Pakistan is assisting terrorists is to forcefully capture Kashmir. The United States has suggested to Pakistan that the issue should be resolved in the light and spirit of the Simla agreement. Britain and other countries have advised likewise. Pakistan does not seem to heed any such suggestions. Mr. Nawaz Sharif has always acted contrary to the outcome of several peace talks with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. To debate a resolution on a topic internal to India in the Pakistan National Assembly is interfering in

India's internal affairs. The world is knowingly indifferent to the undeclared war that Pakistan has waged on India for the last several years. SAARC's effort and resolution to stop the terrorist activities has drawn universal attention. The question of launching a grass-roots awakening is really mute. The opinions on Pakistani terrorism already expressed by the prominent Western countries can be taken for granted as the international grass-roots conviction. The entire world has criticized the Pakistani policy on terrorism. In the Rajyasabha, in order for the the SAARC resolution to be useful, it should be followed by the implementation of the necessary steps to arrest the terrorism. Pakistan stands exposed before the world by declaring its open support for terrorism. SAARC should not be a forum to discuss internal problems of the member nations, but when the Association once agrees to formulate steps to stop terrorism, the results should not get lost in bureaucratic paperwork. It will be of global interest that SAARC unanimously declares Pakistan a "terrorist nation," and a collective appeal is made for it to end terrorism.

First Round of Water-Sharing Talks Ends

Purpose of Talks

93AS0286A Bombay *THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA* in English 22 Nov 92 p 29

[Text] The Times of India News Service, New Delhi, November 21—The two-day first round of experts-level talks on sharing of river waters between India and Bangladesh ended here yesterday without making much progress. The two sides, however, agreed to continue the talks in the second meeting of the joint committee of experts (JCE) to be held shortly in Dhaka.

This meeting of the JCE was devoted primarily to review the availability and requirement of the flows of Ganga, Tista, Brahmaputra and Barak rivers. An attempt is likely to be made in the next meeting to take a final quantitative view on these issues to facilitate consideration of various options for long-term solution of water disputes.

The short-term solutions are also proposed to be found within the framework of the broad long-term solution.

The JCE, headed by the irrigation secretaries of the two countries, was formed during the visit of the water resources minister, Mr V.C. Shukla, to Dhaka in August last.

The committee has been asked to evolve an equitable, long term and comprehensive arrangement for sharing the flows of the Ganga, Tista and other major rivers to serve the best interests of the people of both countries.

The committee would also try to work out an acceptable settlement on interim arrangements for sharing the dry season flow of the Ganga pending final solution of the dispute.

The Indian delegation at the talks was led by the water resources secretary, Dr. C.D. Thatte, and the Bangladesh team by the secretary in the ministry of irrigation, water development and flood control, Mr M. Asafudowlah.

The complex issue of sharing of river waters between the two countries was also discussed during the visit of the Bangladesh Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia, to this country in May last.

It was recognised during the high level meeting that due to growing need for water, the flows available in the Ganga and Tista would fall short of the requirements of the two countries, especially during the lean season. It was, therefore, decided that the concerned ministers should make renewed efforts to reach an agreement through mutual discussions.

Points of Difference

93AS0286B Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English 23 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by Pranay Sharma: "Talks on Water Sharing Break Off"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 22—The crucial talks on water sharing between India and Bangladesh have broken down with New Delhi refusing to give any commitment on releasing Ganga waters.

While Bangladesh insisted on sharing Ganga waters only, the Indian side sought to hold discussions under a more comprehensive framework involving all the four major rivers in the region, Brahmaputra, Teesta, Barak/Meghna, and Ganga. The two sides have also failed to fix a date for the next round of talks.

The outcome of the two-day talks, which began here on Thursday, is seen as a setback to the progress made between the two sides during the Bangladesh Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia's visit to India in May this year. The Indian side was represented by the water resources secretary, Dr. C. D. Thatte, and the Bangladesh delegation was led by his counterpart, Mr Asafud-Dowlah.

The essential points of difference that have emerged are:

- Discussions on water sharing on the basis of individual rivers.
- Commitment on the amount of Ganga water due to Bangladesh.
- Involving Nepal on tripartite talks for augmenting Ganga waters down the catchment area.

Bangladesh wants all these three conditions fulfilled before a "comprehensive and permanent" solution is reached. But the Indian side is not prepared to commit itself to any of these conditions. The water resources secretary, Dr Thatte, maintained India was not in a position to make any commitment as water supply in the country had been drastically reduced over the years.

Regarding augmenting of Ganga waters, Bangladesh recommended setting up storage dams Nepal for releasing waters during the dry season. [sentence as published] India is, however, of the opinion that enough water could be provided to both countries by linking up the four major rivers in the region by a common channel.

Bangladesh demanded an increased inflow of Ganga waters during the lean season and said too much of it was being held back by the Farakka barrage. According to one estimate, while the Calcutta Port needs 40,000 cusecs of water in the lean season, Bangladesh requires 25,000 cusecs. The total volume of water released to Bangladesh in the lean season falls far short of that.

The Bangladesh side sought a clarification on the Ganga's status as an international river and Bangladesh's share in its waters.

Barely a week back, both sides had failed to reach an agreement on the issue of illegal migrants. Therefore, it is felt that both the issues will be raised again when the Prime Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, goes to Dhaka on December 12 for the Saarc summit.

Nepal Invited

The Bangladesh side has also suggested that Nepal be involved in tripartite level talks for augmenting Ganga waters in the catchment areas. India, has, however, rejected the proposal.

Internal Affairs

Reportage on Destruction of Ayodhya Mosque

Incident in Detail

93AS0311A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Dec 92 pp 1, 15

[Article by M.G. Gupta and Vijay Jung Thapa; italicized words as published]

[Text] Ayodhya, Dec. 6—The Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid structure was today razed to the ground. Even as top BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leaders were advocating discipline, kar sevaks stormed the shrine at 11:40 a.m. and started breaking it down. The state police were mute spectators to the entire demolition. The deed was done by 5 p.m. when all three domes of the shrine had fallen.

Immediately afterwards, communal riots spread through the bylanes of Ayodhya just behind the fallen structure. Houses of Muslims were singled out and set ablaze. It was alleged that some of the victims' families had retaliated by firing at the kar sevaks. The administration has clamped curfew in the twin cities of Faizabad and Ayodhya.

The 18-month-old BJP government in Uttar Pradesh was dismissed tonight and the state assembly dissolved, adds PTI from New Delhi.

The decision to dismiss the State government was taken at an emergency meeting of the Union cabinet which met soon after the storming of the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid complex.

The President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, issued the proclamation dismissing the Kalyan Singh government under article 356 of the constitution.

The U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] government was held responsible for its failure to maintain law and order in Ayodhya.

The Imam of Jama Masjid, Syed Abdullah Bukhari, urged Muslims to be patient and not resort to violence in the face of damage to the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya.

He made the appeal from the pulpit of the historic mosque after leading the *maghrib* (sunset-time) prayer. Thousands of people had flocked to the mosque soon after they learnt about the incident at Ayodhya. He began his unscheduled speech by saying: "It is a major tragedy. Our hearts are broken."

In a measured speech, the Imam said whatever happened at Ayodhya today was tragic and painful. He held the central government responsible for today's incident. "The Muslims feel betrayed by the Prime Minister. All along we were given the impression that the mosque will not be touched. We were kept in the dark," he said.

Displaying his anger at the Central government's inaction, the Imam said the Centre should have dismissed the U.P. government long ago. He said he had warned the government that the consequences would be tragic if the structure was damaged.

"But the Centre has failed in its duty to protect the rights of the Muslims," he added. He, however, gave no indication that he would ask the government to step down.

The Imam felt today's incident was pre-planned and the Centre knew about it. He said: "The majority thinks storming the mosque was planned in advance and the Centre probably knew about it." But, he added, he has no evidence to back his statement.

In an emotionally charged atmosphere, the Imam repeatedly appealed to Muslims not to lose their cool. He said the Babri Masjid Action Committee, which held an emergency meeting after the incident at Ayodhya, would take a decision soon. He said he would consider the committee's decision before making a final announcement on the plan of action.

A joint delegation of Muslim leaders lodged a protest with the President against the damage to the disputed structure at Ayodhya and said the entire Muslim community had lost confidence in the Prime Minister.

At Ayodhya, the police were nervously patrolling the bylanes. The huge crowd of kar sevaks were in a defiant mood as they went about setting houses on fire. The VHP-RSS-BJP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad-Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Bharatiya Janata Party] leaders were repeatedly urging the kar sevaks not to leave the area but nobody listened to them. The mood was tense.

From early morning today, sants and sadhus had gathered at the platform next to the shilanyas site. They were sitting on the ground and kirtans were being recited. Volunteers of the RSS in their distinctive uniforms outnumbered the police.

It all started at Ayodhya with the arrival of the leaders. The first to arrive was the VHP general secretary, Mr. Ashok Singhal. Later, the BJP leaders, Mr. L.K. Advani and Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, also arrived. This enflamed the kar sevaks. They rushed to the disputed site and tried to get in 35 minutes before the kar seva was to start at 12:15 p.m.

There was much pushing and jostling and finally a bunch of kar sevaks managed to get inside the disputed site. They were immediately surrounded by RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] volunteers and sadhus. The sadhus tried their best to pacify them urging them to go back. Some RSS volunteers tried to muscle them out. But they stood their ground.

This went on for some time and suddenly a group of about 30 men in yellow headbands descended on the errant kar sevaks. They managed to physically remove them. But the whole operation backfired as the kar sevaks were enraged. There was more pushing and jostling.

Finally, around 11:40 a.m., six kar sevaks managed to break the cordon again from the south side of the shrine. As soon as they got into the disputed area, they tried to enter the shrine which was surrounded by one company of CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] troops. These men chased the kar sevaks who retaliated by throwing stones. After that, the kar sevaks swamped into the disputed area and tried to get into the shrine.

All hell suddenly broke loose. Even as leaders urged the kar sevaks over loud speakers, they had already broken inside the shrine.

The CRPF men stood their ground for about 20 minutes, but they soon had to run for their lives. Then two kar sevaks could be seen on top of the dome, waving saffron flags.

Once the CRPF men had fled, there was nobody to stop the deluge of kar sevaks entering the shrine. The U.P. police did not even attempt to stop them. Most of them looked embarrassed as the kar sevaks shouted "PAC [Provincial Armed Constabulary] zindabad." Soon hundreds of kar sevaks could be seen all over the shrine. The CRPF men later said there was no magistrate inside the shrine.

All the kar sevaks were hitting the structure with spades, axes and rods. Within minutes, stones were uprooted from the dome and below too the kar sevaks were cutting away the walls. The VHP-BJP-RSS leaders continued to plead with the kar sevaks to stop. They continued to plead till 12:30 p.m. and then abruptly stopped.

More than an hour after the kar sevaks had stormed the shrine, the district magistrate, Mr. R.N. Srivastava, decided the situation had gone out of control. He sent a note to the DIG [Deputy Inspector General], CRPF, who is in command of the Central forces here. He asked for the forces to come to the disputed site.

Without any loss of time, four companies of the CRPF and the elite Rapid Action Force were dispatched from Faizabad. But the kar sevaks had blocked the road in many places. Bricks, stones and trees were lying on the road, making it difficult for the forces to reach Ayodhya.

Within half an hour, the forces had reached Saket College, which is a kilometre away from the shrine.

Here, they were stopped by another magistrate. The officers leading the forces were asked to go back to Faizabad because the approach road to the shrine was blocked. Back at the shrine, things were getting uglier. Presspersons and lensmen were beaten up and many of their cameras were snatched. But the foreign correspondents got a worse deal. It seems the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had shown a clip on the Ayodhya issue with footage of the 1990 incident. The kar sevaks thought it was the coverage of the current kar seva.

Almost all foreign correspondents were surrounded with shouts of "BBC hai hai." They were beaten up despite their protests. Many camera teams saw their expensive equipment smashed. Many of the journalists had to seek shelter at an adjacent building where most of the U.P. police personnel too were standing.

By now, the kar sevaks were at the 2.77-acre disputed site. Many of them were seen on a rooftop around the shrine singing Ram kirtans.

As the pitch of the kirtan went higher, so did the frenzy. The steel fences running all around the shrine had been uprooted and were being used for demolition.

There was frantic activity. Huge stones that had been uprooted were rolling down the wall. And many of them hit the kar sevaks. Those injured were rushed to the nearby ashrams for first aid. Many of them were injured seriously. One sadhu could be seen lying on the ground, his stomach cut open.

RSS volunteers said more than 100 had received injuries. Many of them were in a serious condition. Three or four ambulances were also pressed into use.

At exactly 2.43 p.m., the right dome of the shrine fell. The entire crowd got up to shout "Jai Shree Ram." Some of the women broke down, tears streaming down their

faces. By then even the leaders had changed their tone. Many of them shouted "congratulations" over the loud speakers.

By now old women and children were being urged to break down the shrine. "Come and do your bit. Help to bring in Ram Rajya." One of the kar sevaks ran up to presspersons and shouted: "What are you going to write today. Tell the world that we brought in Hindu rashtra." He said none of the kar sevaks had come for the symbolic kar seva. "We cannot come again and again. We have decided to finish it all in one go," he added.

And it went on into the afternoon. There were cheers but now all attention was focussed on the main dome at the centre. Sadhvi Ritambhara and Ms. Uma Bharati could be heard on the loud speakers urging kar sevaks to bring down the last dome. It was all over at 4:50 p.m. and the kar sevaks went wild.

Demands From Left

93AS0311B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Dec 92 pp 1, 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 6—The National Front and left parties combine tonight demanded the resignation of the P.V. Narasimha Rao government for its "failure" to uphold the constitution and the immediate take-over of the administration in Uttar Pradesh in the wake of the storming of the disputed structure at Ayodhya by kar sevaks, PTI reports.

A delegation of the NF-LF [National Front-Left Front] combined met the President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, and told him that the "demolition" of the Babri Masjid is the "gravest onslaught" on the constitution and accularism by the BJP-VHP-RSS [Bharatiya Janata Party-Vishwa Hindu Parishad-Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] combine and the Centre has "totally failed" to discharge its constitutional obligations.

The CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] leader in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, said the Centre is guilty of violating the constitution and has "totally abdicated" its responsibility despite the opposition's repeated warning on the situation.

The NF-LF combine will take a decision tomorrow on whether to move a no-confidence motion or a censure motion against the Narasimha Rao government in the Lok Sabha.

But, opposition sources said there is a technical problem in tabling a no-trust motion.

They said under the rules of procedure, a no-confidence motion could not be tabled twice within six months as the entire opposition had moved a similar motion in the monsoon session of the Lok Sabha in late July this year.

Mr. Chatterjee said the President assured the delegation that he would do whatever possible within his powers to uphold the rule of law and unity and the integrity of the country.

The delegation told the President that the BJP government in Uttar Pradesh should be dismissed immediately for its failure to uphold the constitution and allowing the sacrilege to be committed.

A statement read out by the CPM politburo member, Mr. Prakash Karat, after the delegation's meeting with the President, said the Ayodhya happenings are the "gravest onslaught on the constitution and secularism by the BJP-VHP-RSS combine.

"The Centre has totally failed to discharge its constitutional obligations. Even three days ago, an NF-LF delegation told the Prime Minister about the seriousness of the situation but he has abdicated his political responsibility as the Prime Minister.

"We have come to the President of India asking him to uphold the constitution and the Uttar Pradesh government should be dismissed," it said.

The statement said the President expressed serious concern over the developments in Ayodhya and told them he was fully posted with the events there.

The NF-LF leaders condemned the "anti-national activities" in Ayodhya and assured the people that they would spare no efforts to protect the unity and integrity of the country.

On behalf of the combine, Mr. Chatterjee appealed to the people to maintain peace and harmony in the country.

When told that some members of the Babri Masjid action committee have said that they would try to reconstruct the mosque with the help of left and secular forces, Mr. Chatterjee said: "We will like the mosque to be reconstructed but the immediate necessity is to protect the constitution and rule of law."

The Congress has condemned the storming of the disputed structure as "an act of treachery."

The party spokesman, Mr. V.N. Gadgil, said the Uttar Pradesh government had "very inefficiently" handled the situation.

He also condemned the reported manhandling of journalists by the kar sevaks at Ayodhya.

The minister of state for communications, Mr. Rajesh Pilot, today demanded the resignation of all four state governments run by the BJP for the "blatant violation" of the constitution following the developments in Ayodhya.

In a statement here, Mr. Pilot also demanded the resignation of Mr. K.L. Advani as leader of the opposition in Parliament.

In Madras, the Tamil Nadu chief minister, Ms. Jayalalitha, in an "unequivocal" condemnation of the 'acts of desecration' at the disputed structure, said they were in gross violation of the orders of the apex court.

Rao Speech Text

93AS0311C Madras *THE HINDU* in English
7 Dec 92 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 6—The following is the text of the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao's speech on Ayodhya:

"Fellow countrymen, I am speaking to you this evening under the grave threat that has been posed to the institutions, principles and ideals on which the constitutional structure of our republic has been built. During the struggle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, we had promised to ourselves an India free of exploitation, hunger and pestilence, recognising the right of every citizen to the fruits of democracy and also his right to practise and preach his own religion without any interference. This resolve was enshrined in our Constitution and the founding fathers of our country sanctified this in the written Constitution of India."

"In a country of the size and diversity like ours, it is only the concern and care for the sensibilities of each other which can ensure a smooth functioning of the institutions that we have created. This is the only way to maintain peace and harmony among the people of India. Whatever may be our differences on political, social and economic issues, have to be acted upon keeping this wider concept in view. The delicate fabric of our nation woven around democracy and secularism is the only anchor-sheet for our country's existence."

"The country has witnessed in the last few years an attempt by certain political parties who have in their pursuit of power not been able to exercise restraint and keep their actions within the limitations of propriety, law and the demands of national integration. They used the differences revolving around the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute to excite base communal passions and utilise the same for political purpose. We have pleaded with them, we have made our efforts to bring different people together in an effort to resolve this matter amicably through peaceful negotiations. We have gone to the fullest extent to create an atmosphere in the country which would be conducive to this effort. We have posed to all parties to the dispute ways and means to get a judicial determination to this vexed problem. I see no other way in a democratic polity to determine matters on which strong views are held on all sides."

"I have personally done whatever I could to help reach a negotiated settlement or a judicial determination to this issue while all democratic and secular forces have helped in this effort. But I am sad to state that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]—the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] combine has not only failed to respond to my

efforts, but as a matter of fact, have gone about deliberately to not only thwart my efforts but also to mislead the nation about my intentions. What has happened today in Ayodhya where Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid structure has been demolished, is a matter of great shame and concern for all Indians. Each and everyone of us want and I have stressed so repeatedly that we want to see a beautiful temple to Lord Rama being built at Ayodhya. As a matter of fact people of all faiths in India were even prepared to actively help in this. The BJP-VHP combine have, however, continued to pursue a different line because they felt that is the only route to carry them on to the seats of power. This is a betrayal of the nation, a confrontation with all that is sacred to all Indians as the legacy which we have all inherited and is a part of our national ethos. A great affront has been caused to this. As the first servant of the people of India it is not only my duty but also my mandate to ensure that all such communal forces who are out to confront the nation itself, must be met resolutely. We will go to any extent to preserve and protect secularism and democratic credentials of our nation. In this onerous task I seek the support and blessings of all the citizens of this country. I would like to say very clearly that we shall no longer suffer the Machiavellian tactics of the communal forces in this country."

"I appeal to all those misguided people who have assembled at Ayodhya on the inspiration of persons who do not have the well being of the nation at heart to disperse peacefully and let the law of the land have full sway there. It is to achieve this that my Government have dismissed the Government of U.P. headed by Shri Kalyan Singh which have totally failed in its primary duty to which they pledged themselves time and again to protect the structure. I would like to sound a note of warning to everyone who may try to help such elements who have put the peace and tranquillity of the nation in jeopardy that we shall not spare any action against them in the interest of the nation. I appeal to all of you to maintain calm, peace and harmony at this grave moment of crises. We have faced many such situations in the past and have overcome them. We shall do this again with firm determination and conviction in the rightness of our path."

BJP Stand

93AS0311D Madras *THE HINDU* in English
7 Dec 92 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 6—The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP], while describing today's violence at Ayodhya as "unfortunate," maintained that neither the Supreme Court orders prohibiting construction on the disputed site there had been violated, nor could the Uttar Pradesh Government be accused of going back on its assurance that it would protect the structure.

Addressing a crowded and tense press conference here a little before the Chief Minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, announced his resignation, the party vice-president, Mr.

Sunder Singh Bhandari, said what had happened was entirely "unexpected" and compared the incidents to a "road accident." It was too early to identify the people who stormed the disputed structure. He sought to blame "some elements who got out of control."

Mr. Bhandari, who was evasive during the most part of his 30-minute press conference, declined to answer whether his party accepted the moral responsibility for what had happened, even as he repeatedly stressed that the entire "kar seva" operation was planned by a common "command" comprising the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], the BJP and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad]—in that order. The "command" was still intact and there was no question of the BJP "distancing" itself from its allies. His refrain was "nobody has deliberately violated the Constitution and what happened was an aberration."

Even as reports indicated that the damage to the Babri Masjid structure was continuing (at the time he held the press conference one of three domes had already collapsed). Mr. Bhandari claimed that the "kar sevaks" in the masjid premises were simply singing "Ram dhun" indicating that the situation was cooling down.

All that had happened, according to him, was that only the "outer wall" had been "damaged" and the State Government was trying its "best" to "protect the security of the structure." The trouble started when one person climbed a dome and waved "a flag" touching off a "rush" which the police could not control. In the stampede, the party president, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi and senior leader Mr. L.K. Advani "fell" down but they were "safe."

President's Rule Imposed

93AS0311E Madras THE HINDU in English
7 Dec 92 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 6—In what was seen as an inevitable though belated response to today's happenings in Ayodhya, the Centre today imposed President's rule in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] and dissolved the State Assembly. The Chief Minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, was sacked even though he resigned earlier in an implied acknowledgement of his grave failure.

The decision was taken by the Union Cabinet at an emergent meeting in the evening an hour after the last of the three domes collapsed under the attack of the kar sevaks. What till yesterday was considered a drastic step, a major political gamble today became almost a routine decision. The focus appeared to be shifting to the Centre—whether it would be engulfed in a political crisis and whether the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao would be subjected to heavy pressure by the Opposition, if not by a section of the Congress(I) and with what

results. Deeper meanings were read into the Rashtrapathi Bhawan statement—before the Cabinet meeting—to take expeditious steps to safeguard the rule of law.

A foregone conclusion: After the destruction of the Babri Masjid, the Central take-over became a foregone conclusion. This was because of the patent evidence of the State Government's failure and collapse of its law-enforcement machinery. The inaction of the police, provincial armed constabulary and the magistracy, helped the vandals to perform their job unhindered and as such amounted to criminal negligence, even worse.

The resignation of Mr. Kalyan Singh, meant that he had owned the responsibility for the happenings at Ayodhya and found his position untenable.

It was an acknowledgement of failure on the part of the State Government to discharge its elementary duty and of the Chief Minister to fulfil his commitments. This was in pathetic contrast to the high and mighty tone of the Chief Minister, the BJP leaders and others in the "Sangh Parivar."

Unprecedented move: Earlier, in an unprecedented move, the President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, requested the Prime Minister to initiate appropriate, expeditious steps to uphold the rule of law, the maintenance of public order and protection of all law-abiding citizens. He strongly condemned the act of vandalism.

It is not unusual for a President to offer advice to the Prime Minister—a convention that was established by the first President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, after some not-too-cordial correspondence with the Prime Minister of the day, Jawaharlal Nehru. But the advice is given in private. Dr. Sharma's statement represented his deep anguish over the day's happenings and their consequences and far-reaching implications. The Prime Minister's critics, however, are bound to interpret it as a censure of the Centre's handling of the Ayodhya case and those who blamed Mr. Rao for inaction will feel vindicated.

The public advice acquires the dimension of a directive, even though there is no provision for it in the Constitution.

The following is the text of the statement issued by the Press Secretary to the President. "The President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, has strongly deplored vandalism that has caused damage to the Masjid in Ayodhya and has observed that such acts are absolutely against the doctrine and practices of Hinduism and all other great religions. Those who have harmed the structure of the Masjid have caused injury to the centuries-old ethos of India nurtured and strengthened by the martyrs and great leaders of India's struggle for freedom and national re-construction. They have violated the rule of law, the tradition of India of mutual respect of all religions, and the basic tenets and values of the Hindu way of life."

"The President has requested the Prime Minister to initiate appropriate expeditious steps to uphold the rule of law, the maintenance of public order and protection of all law-abiding citizens. The President has appealed to the people to maintain peace and unity and cooperate with one another in curbing all anti-national elements."

The dismissal of the State Government had been thought of at various levels at the Centre in the last few weeks, but was not seriously pursued. The U.P. Governor, Mr. B. Satyanarayana Reddy, was summoned here last week for consultations with the Central leaders. According to reliable sources, the Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, gave him a draft (making a case for Central rule under Article 356 of the Constitution, on the ground that the constitutional machinery had failed). Mr. Chavan presumably wanted the Governor to send a report to the Centre on the lines, mentioned therein.

Mr. Reddy, however, felt it would be better to await the outcome of the proceedings in the Supreme Court before deciding on the extreme step. During his call on the Prime Minister later, Mr. Reddy inquired whether he was supposed to send such a report and Mr. Rao, it appears, merely smiled.

The non-BJP Opposition, including the West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, called for immediate dismissal of the U.P. Government. A senior leader, Mr. Madhu Limaye, wrote to the Prime Minister on November 29 suggesting a peaceful settlement of the Ayodhya problem but if the RSS-VHP [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad] combine was adamant and wanted to defy the court, the Government must strike and strike harder.

Editorial Article Assesses Blame

93AS0311F Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Dec 92 p 1

[Editorial: "The Republic Besmirched"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The worst was feared in Ayodhya; and the worst has come to pass. The disputed Babri Masjid structure has been razed to the ground. Despite solemn promises made to the supreme court, the Kalyan Singh government and the leaders of the Sangh *parivar* failed to prevent the gross act of vandalism. The failure reveals their inability or unwillingness or both to operate within the confines of the constitution. No matter how much they try to explain away the destruction of the mosque, the fact remains that in the eyes of the nation they have effectively placed themselves outside the rule of law. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], which has been in power in four states and enjoys considerable influence in several parts of the country, will have to pay a heavy price for its abysmal conduct. In one swift stroke it has forfeited its claims to be a party of governance. The nation will be well within its rights to ask how it can be entrusted with any responsibility if it lost its nerve with

such abruptness during the dramatic developments on Sunday. It has invited the charge of unconstitutional behaviour.

The developments also expose the pernicious features of *Hindutva* espoused by the Sangh *parivar*. The doctrine draws its sustenance from hate, prejudice, bigotry and a determined and cynical refusal to abide by the pluralistic, tolerant and ethically sound character of Hinduism. To achieve its political ends, the Sangh *parivar* has wantonly exploited religious sentiments. Its brand of nationalism, far from uniting the Hindu community, has sown seeds of distrust and divisiveness. This would be all too evident from the consequences of the destruction of the Babri Masjid: the gulf between India's largest communities has widened; the Indian state has been thrown on the defensive and India's face has been blackened. The horrendous irony of it all is that such misery has been perpetrated in the name of Lord Ram, a name which in the hearts of millions of Hindus evokes sentiments of valour, justice and tolerance.

It is however not enough to squarely blame only the *Hindutva* forces for Sunday's developments. The Central government, Parliament, the courts and all those who shape opinion cannot escape their share of the responsibility. Quite clearly, they were unable to gauge the depth and extent to which the *Hindutva* elements had spread their influence in the body politic. It is otherwise hard to explain the behaviour of the law and order forces and of the administration in Ayodhya. Their passivity and, in certain cases, even complicity during Sunday's *kar seva* are a shameful comment on their commitment to uphold the law. Had these factors been taken into account, it is more than likely that the situation would not have gone out of control. Steps would have been taken to ensure that the large congregation of *kar sevaks* remained at a safe distance from the mosque and that hotheads were held on a tight leash. But this is a thing of the past. The critical question now is the response of the Indian state to the aftermath of events in Ayodhya.

An early response, though frankly unusual, has come from President Shankar Dayal Sharma. His statement expresses with eloquence the anguish and anger that Sunday's developments inspire in the overwhelming majority of our people. He has denounced the vandalism and its perpetrators in the clearest possible terms, requested the Prime Minister to "initiate appropriate measures to uphold the rule of law, the maintenance of public order and the protection of all law-abiding citizens" and appealed to the people to "maintain peace and unity and co-operate with one another in curbing all anti-national elements." The statement must command the attention it merits as a testament of faith in the Indian people's abhorrence of fanaticism. The nation now looks at the Central government to demonstrate as firmly as it can that it intends to counter the forces of fanaticism, heal the wounds inflicted on the Muslim minority and ensure that appropriate obeisance is paid to Lord Ram only within the framework of the constitution. The dismissal of the Kalyan Singh government is a

first indication of the government's will. Note must also be taken of the appeal of the Shahi Imam of Delhi's Jama Masjid to his co-religionists to remain calm. Finally the enormity of what transpired in Ayodhya on Sunday would be obvious from the BJP's statement owning "moral responsibility" for the destruction of the mosque. Many more forceful moves will have to be made in the days ahead if the republic is to be saved from the scourge of hate and bigotry.

Government Role Scored

93AS0311G Madras *THE HINDU* in English
7 Dec 92 p 1

[Editorial article: "Unforgivable"]

[Text] It was religious fanaticism at its ugliest in Ayodhya yesterday, with the country's worst fears coming true in the nightmarish spectacle of the brutal destruction of the 450 year old Babri Masjid by thousands of frenzied kar sevaks. The disputed mosque was razed to the ground with a barbaric savagery reminiscent of the crude traditions of setting scores in medieval history. The demolition of the Masjid has delivered a lethal blow to the image of a secular and democratic India. Yesterday's catastrophe underlines the validity of the misgivings that a permissive attitude to the kar seva would have disastrous consequences. Sunday was a dark day for India. *THE HINDU* shares the nation's sense of deep anguish at this painful moment.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] Government in Uttar Pradesh has forfeited its right to rule in the State by its brazen and shameless abdication of its constitutional responsibility. Its assurances to the Centre that it would not violate the court order and that it would discharge its constitutional obligations proved insincere as it appeared to actively collude with the savage and destructive attitude of the kar sevaks surging forward to capture the disputed structure. The State police, completely outnumbered by crowds of trishul-wielding kar sevaks, withdrew from the site as the unruly mob charged into the complex. For the better part of the day, the inaction of the State police force coupled with the refusal of the district magistrate to permit the Central forces to act implied that the State government endorsed the mosque's wanton destruction. The Central forces had to fight their way in, even as they were prevented by the State troops from bursting teargas shells to disperse the crowd. The barricades that the State authorities had put up to guard the disputed structure were hopelessly inadequate, making a mockery of the State Government's claim that it would take all steps to protect the disputed structure. The resignation of the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh does not absolve his Government or the BJP of culpability for the kar seva's sordid conclusion.

The BJP and its militant allies, the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] and the Bajrang Dal stand exposed as having

brought on this horrific denouncement even as the essentially destructive and fascist nature of its strategy and tactics cannot be in doubt any more. The BJP's claim to be a defender of the national interest lies in shreds today. Much as Mr. L.K. Advani and his colleagues would like to disown the savagery of Sunday, they cannot escape the responsibility for having whipped up passions to the extent that it reflected in the blind mob hysteria which culminated in the attack on the Babri Masjid. The shrill tenor of the Hindutva campaign, the continual jibes at "pseudo secular policies," the inflammatory propaganda that minorities are being appeased all served to present a dangerous and false picture of Indian social reality to the public, breeding the sort of ugly fanaticism that surfaced in Ayodhya yesterday.

The Narasimha Rao administration will face the criticism that it did not adequately forestall Sunday's development. In retrospect, it was a mistake to have put any faith in the sincerity of the Uttar Pradesh Government's assurances that it would uphold the rule of law. Thereby the Centre had jeopardised the safety of the Babri Masjid. The Government should not have taken this risk, given that the disputed mosque had come to be a symbol of the fate of India's commitment to secularism. This administration had in fact been fortified by support from the non-BJP opposition parties which had promised to endorse any strong action in defence of the integrity of the disputed structure. Yet the Narasimha Rao Government hesitated in seizing the initiative in ensuring the mosque's safety.

The wisdom of this government's strategic approach to the Ayodhya issue will be sharply questioned in the days to come, within the ruling party and outside. But what is vital is to recognise that this is a defining moment in India's history, a moment at which the country can be plunged into a dark abyss of primitive emotions threatening to erase four decades of a successful track record of a progressive secular democracy. All the secular political forces must rally to the defence of the country and pull it back from the brink. A first step would be to rebuild the destroyed Babri Masjid as a gesture towards the minority community and as a reaffirmation of an unwavering commitment to the vision of a democratic India, free of any kind of bigotry.

Effects of High Court's Decision in Disputed Land Viewed

93AS0331D New Delhi *JANSATTA* in Hindi
14 Dec 92 p 6

[Editorial: "After the Decision"]

[Text] The special tribunal of the Allahabad High Court has nullified the annexation of the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid's 2.77-acre land and has supported the opinion of the informed public of this country. The special tribunal decided that the former U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] government led by Kalyan Singh had taken

over this land dishonestly and had thus violated Articles 14, 15, 25, and 26 of the Constitution. The accusation of dishonesty is correct, since this land was taken for improving facilities for tourism and pilgrims. However, the former BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government of Uttar Pradesh, as everyone knows, took over this land for the construction of Rama's Temple. Building a temple is not for improving facilities for the tourists. The special tribunal had doubts about the BJP government's intentions. Therefore, when an order was issued against confiscation of the land, the tribunal imposed three restrictions. First, no permanent structure was to be built on the land. Second, no actions were to be taken which could change the status quo. Finally, the government could not transfer the land to anyone. The kar seva in July on this land violated these orders. Judge Mathur considered even building the temple as welfare work. However, he said that it was not identified as welfare work in the annexation notice and the government affidavit. In addition, the government had said that the land it acquired was not disputed. The truth is that the 2.77 acres of land were being disputed in the courts. This way, the Kalyan Singh government was dishonest and gave wrong information to the special tribunal.

The three judges of the special tribunal found that this annexation violated articles 14, 15, 25, and 26 of the Constitution. These articles are related to equal treatment of all religions and factions. Article 25 is about following one's religion and propagating it, and Article 26 gives the freedom to make arrangements for religious practices. The tribunal decided that the former U.P. government did not consider Hindus and Muslims equal when it acquired that land. It discriminated over religion, because one group benefitted more than the other. It also violated the right to practice religion and to make arrangements following religious practices. The former BJP government argued that the people had mandated the construction of Rama's Temple. One judge correctly said that the people's mandate in a democracy was given within the framework of the Constitution, and that they could not be above it. In other words, by violating these four articles of the Constitution, the former BJP government of Uttar Pradesh committed fraud and told lies, trying to build the temple under the guise of a people's mandate.

This conclusion is given by the tribunal. However, when the kar seva was started in July, similar views were mentioned in various sources including this newspaper. The reactions of various parties to the tribunal's decision was according to their own outlooks. The BJP says that if the decision had been made on December 6 instead of December 11, then the kar seva would have been held peacefully, and all those unfortunate incidents would have been avoided. This BJP reaction is part of its campaign to prove that the evil deeds of the kar sevaks were appropriate and to blame the court for them. The Chief Justice of the tribunal, Mathur, replied that the accusation was not over the disputed structure but the land in front of it, and that they had

made a decision based on the validity of that accusation. The case about the ownership of the destroyed structure is still in the court, and it has not yet been heard. The court has ordered that it be kept that way, and the government will implement it. Therefore, even if the court had announced its decision before December 6, the people would still have gotten angry, and there would have been no difference in the results. It is easy to let the genie out of the bottle; putting it back is difficult. The Sangh family can learn from the advice of judge, because they have admitted the people who destroyed the structure did not tell them of their plans, nor had they heard from them. This way, the people who destroyed the structure have lost the right to do anything legally by removing themselves from the sphere of this country's laws, Constitution, and legislation. The Central Government should acquire this land now and, with the advice of the Supreme Court, build the temple and the mosque. However, all of this should be done with the help of a national trust.

Text of Rao Speech on Nehru Anniversary

93AS0291A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 20 Nov 92 p 4

[Italicized words as published]

[Text] The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, made a speech in Allahabad on November 14, the birth anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru, in which he dwelt at length on the Ayodhya issue. The following is the text of the speech:

As long as Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi were at the helm of affairs India could overcome its problems with ease.

Whenever there has been an economic crisis the world has come to the aid of India basically because of their personal equations with the world leaders. Panditji's personality, popularity and charisma played a key role in securing foreign help. But after the demise of Rajiv Gandhi things came to such a pass during one-and-half-years of non-Congress rule that we had to even mortgage gold to overcome the foreign exchange crisis.

Today I am proud to declare that we have managed to put behind us the crisis situation, but the road to recovery is still not an easy one. There are several hurdles ahead of us and we have to face them one by one, but I can assure you that the worst is over.

The foreign exchange reserves are now at a comfortable level and the industrial investments are picking up. You would be happy to know that we have already received foreign investment offers over Rs [Rupees] 4500 crores. In the past foreign investments had not even crossed Rs 200 crores in a full year. With the new liberalised economic policies in place we have begun the process of unshackling bureaucratic controls. Now an investor need not rush to Delhi for getting various clearances. If he

wants to acquire land, secure water and electricity connection he must ask the state government.

I have already told the state governments that I can only send industrialists to them and it is for them to fulfill all their requirements. We have already dispensed with the quota, licence, and permit raj at the Centre. Anyone who wants to invest is welcome. Please go and visit the industry ministry in Delhi. The corridors of the Udyog Bhawan are empty. Any self-respecting individual would no longer hang around the place as the licenses have been abolished.

I would like all the Congressmen to actively participate in the new process of industrialisation. They should help entrepreneurs in getting their problems solved. This would also result in competition among the states. If one state does not provide enough facilities the entrepreneur would go to another state. The state government here is not prepared to do anything to attract investment but is only evoking emotions.

I would like to reiterate here what I said in my Independence Day speech. Many smaller nations, who were far less developed than India 15-20 years ago, have now forged ahead of us. This is because we were not paying attention to development. We are focusing on issues which have no relevance. I would therefore urge everyone to bury their differences and pool resources for development.

The world is now moving towards peace. The cold war is over and one system is being replaced by another system. If India fails to participate in the changes it would be left behind the rest of the world. I am not saying all these things and praying for peace because I am Prime Minister. The world is undergoing a massive transformation. Even big powers with huge arsenals of weapons are talking of peace. They want to sort out their differences at the negotiating table.

In India, people who irrespective of their caste, creed and religion have been coexisting for over centuries, are now fighting each other. This is very unfortunate. There is no problem to which a solution can not be found. We can sit across the table and find answers to our problems through discussion.

I do not know what suddenly went wrong on Ayodhya. Four months ago when I met sants and mahants I touched their feet. I told them *Rajshakti* (political power) bows before the *adyatmic shakti* (spiritual power). I sought their help to find a solution to Ayodhya tangle. I said I would require at least four months to find a solution to the 43-year-old controversy. I said the issue could be referred to a tribunal. This is because the problem is very complicated and we may have to go back at least 350 years back into history.

I wonder how many of you know that at least 72 cases are being tried in the Lucknow bench of the High Court alone on this issue. I had suggested to the sants that we could collect all the material available on the Ayodhya

dispute and after identifying relevant issues could refer them to a tribunal. The sants agreed. We did the promised job in three-and-a-half-months. All the documents available were collected and I asked the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the Babri Masjid Action Committee to resume their dialogue.

The first meeting took place in very cordial atmosphere. The second round of meeting also took place on schedule but I don't know what went wrong before the third round. Only five days before the scheduled talks, one side went ahead and announced that they will once again resume kar seva. This is baffling.

I am still trying to bring everyone to the discussion table so that a peaceful solution could be found to the problem. I am sure everyone here will agree with me that a peaceful solution should be found to the Ayodhya problem. I am sure today the entire nation feels the same way. Nobody is in favour of bloodshed. Therefore, I would like to appeal to them to understand the popular perception of the people and try for a peaceful negotiated settlement.

The discussions have today reached a stage where a solution could be found. I can see light at the end of the tunnel, but what can I do if some people do not like it. I would like to reiterate my promise that if the issue is handed over to a tribunal we would stand by whatever its verdict is. The government is committed to fully implement all its recommendations.

Reservation by Caste Seen Insufficient Solution

93AS0302C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 27 Nov 92 p 2

[Debate: "Reservation: A Debate and Thoughts"]

[Text] Professor Vasdeo Singh, the Dean of Humanity at Kashi Vidya Peeth, said that the Supreme Court decision on reservations will not bring any profit or loss to anyone but will be instrumental in increased social prejudices.

Prof. Singh, while theorizing about various aspects of the reservations, emphasizes education and says that reservation is the right vehicle to advance the backward and underprivileged classes. [as published] Until a comprehensive scheme to educate these people is in place, their advancement is impossible.

He says that once a quota is reserved, unqualified people attain high positions, which hurts the ability and the capability of the country. This can impede the development of the country. It is, therefore, necessary that these people first be turned into competent citizens by the medium of education for which they should get the required amenities. Thus, if the backward class grows competent and attains success in high positions then no room is left for anyone to criticize the system.

Prof. Singh squarely blames the politicians for the entire neglect. He says that the politicians have turned the issue of advancement of the poor, underprivileged class into a

question of victory and defeat of their respective parties. As a result, animosity between these groups has escalated to new heights. He said that initially the reservation system for the scheduled castes was planned only for the first 10 years. Later the political parties continued to give it new life. Today no political party dares to oppose the reservation system. It is therefore legitimate for the reservation opponents to question the eternal continuation of this privilege.

Dr. Rai of the Political Science Department of the Kashi Vidya Peeth, submits that nonrecognition of the financial hardships of the backward class will mean that the scientific method of class classification is totally disregarded. Simply employing the caste system as a standard for such classification will defeat the very purpose of the thoughts from Marx to Nehru and will disarray the progressive tradition of Lohiya's philosophy. There is, however, agreement between all political parties in the country for the general acceptance of the backwardness, on the basis of destitute economic conditions. Maybe there is some sort of initiative to amend the Constitution to accommodate this new direction. If such were to be undertaken, then the legal direction of retaining 50 percent of the seats based on competence cannot be disregarded. Dr. Satish Rai has said that the latest decision of the Supreme Court is within the bounds of the technical limitations of the Constitution. The high court has considered 50 percent reservation as a reasonable limit, but its composition is still open to debate. In a way, the judiciary has transferred the burden of defining the composition to the executive and/or to the political administration.

Article 16 of the Constitution describes the process of equal opportunity, but in Paragraph 4 it clearly mentions that the contents of this article will not obstruct any state in reserving the required quota for such positions, if in the opinion of the state, any group of backward citizens of the state does not have adequate representation in the state-controlled administrative services. On the other hand, Section 340 narrates the mechanism for establishing a commission to examine the state of affairs of the backward class based on social and educational needs.

Dr. Satish Rai has said that once again the judiciary has given the government the responsibility to determine the candidates for reservation so that the poor of the backward class benefit, not the well-to-do. This is not an easy task. The court has allowed the government four months to appoint a commission to accomplish this.

It is also said that the commission should survey the entire population and not the regions alone to determine the candidates for reservation from the backward community. Now the difficult part is, that any adoption of a standard to identify the well-to-do among the backward class will be against the directives laid down in the Constitution and the court's legal directions. Hence, it points out the possibility that the offspring of those who

hold high ranks or have ever served the government in any capacity will be denied any such opportunity.

It will take a long time to establish this process, and meanwhile the debate on the issue of reservation will continue. This will keep the issue in the subconsciousness mind of the opponents and the allies alike. While on one hand this situation will influence the establishment of reservations, it will on the other, impact social tolerance to some extent.

Job Reservation Decision Criticized

93AS0302D Varanasi AJ in Hindi 22 Nov 92 p 6

[Article by Sushil Tripathi: "The Question Arises of the Appropriateness of Reservations"]

[Text] A review of the Janata Dal's position, with its origin in the Bofors scandal, shows that it began with slogans devised to cause the downfall of the Congress. This fall brought in V.P. Singh as prime minister but his power was later rendered ineffective by caste-dominated politics. Chaudhry Devi Lal, who made substantial sacrifices to see V.P. Singh win the prime ministership, was the first one expelled from the party. The Janata Party was dissolved, and under the leadership of Chandra Shekhar, who had never recognized V.P. Singh, a new party under the name of Samajwadi Janata Party was born.

The existing Janata Dal (B) includes the strong trio, V.P. Singh, Sharad Yadav, and Ram Vilas Paswan who formulate the party policies and decide virtually every issue.

On a cursory review of the Mandal Commission report in the light of legal and social obligations, we find that under Sections 341 and 342 of the Constitution, the scheduled castes and tribes have been assigned a special classification. To advance their social, economic, and political status, the scheduled castes were allocated 15 percent of all positions and the scheduled tribes 7.5 percent. In 1953, the Kaka Kalelkar Commission was formed to survey and list all such castes and tribes. The commission prepared two lists consisting of 399 such groups and determined that 70 percent of the nation's population was covered under its findings.

In 1990, V.P. Singh's Janata Party government accepted the findings of this commission. The Supreme Court, observing the nationwide reaction and widespread criticism emerging from this acceptance, banned the implementation of its recommendations.

After V.P. Singh's government, Chandra Shekhar's government tried to protect the interests of all economically backward groups. It advanced the cause of reservations based on the economic necessity of any backward group. In 1991, the Rao government amended the reservation schedule to include economically backward classes by awarding 10 percent reserved seats.

Right or wrong, political leaders like A.T. Rama Rao because of his "Chetanya Rath," Devi Lal for his "Justice Rath," and Advani for his "Ram Rath," became prominent in politics because of their respective religious floats. If Telegudesham formed the government in Andhra, Devi Lal did so in Haryana, and Advani's "Ram Rath" infused new life to an almost dead BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party].

During the days of the great evil warrior Ravana it was said that "Ravana on a chariot and Ram without a chariot," and it can also be said about today's politics. The followers of Ravanite culture, even in today's world, tend to keep the foundations of democracy shaking or democratic principles surrendered to administrative controls of dictatorship, simply by using flags, eye-catching phrases, sacred footwear, etc.

The social reformer-thinker Ram Manohar Lohia never had any room in his thoughts to set the various castes or tribes fighting with each other. Leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Acharya Narendra Dev, and Loknayak Jai Prakash Narayan advanced the cause of the poor, Harijans, and minorities to the greatest heights possible. When the leaders gave inspiration for the creation of a persecution-free, total revolution in society, their aim was not to deter brotherly love. Baba Sahib Ambedkar also attempted to achieve exactly the same for Harijans and other backward classes. Today, however, the situation is different. Politicians are exploiting society in the name of caste and creed by using their status, organizing rallies, and by supporting crime. It is obvious though that any effort by any leader or party will not succeed until a comprehensive consolidated approach is made that includes human dignity and consciousness all together.

Leftists Seen Desperate, Facing Identity Crisis

Internal Disputes Increasing

93AS0172A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 21 Oct 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Internal Dispute Within the Left-Front"]

[Text] The RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party], the second in line in the Left Front—the ruler of West Bengal—has been angry with the CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist], which is first in line. Such an outburst of anger is, of course, nothing new. The other partners to this big coalition Front—the CPI [Communist Party of India], the Forward Bloc, the RCPI [Revolutionary Communist Party of India] and even the Marxist Forward Bloc—have expressed their anger and indignation at the CPI-M at different times. The anger has piled up and burst into smoke, sometimes on the question of the distribution of ministries and also on the allocation of seats for the corporation and the local governments. Where the size of a cake is tiny, the smaller and weaker ones will try to find faults with the big and strong on the question of shares. Why should there be

any surprise in this? But never has the anger crossed beyond a statement or a public speech, ending with a reprimand from the head of the joint family, and everyone becoming quiet again. This time the RSP leadership has brought charges against the CPI-M for its closeness with the Congress Party and its deviation from the leftist path on industrial policy. As usual the state leadership of the CPI-M expressing its bitter reaction toward the allegation brought counter-charges against the RSP for destroying the left unity.

The pretext of the RSP allegation was the CPI-M's support for the Congress Party candidate at the presidential election and the call Chief Minister Jyoti Basu has given for starting to cooperate with the Center. In the presidential election, the RSP opposed the Congress Party candidate. The RSP had a democratic right to do that, so also did the other parties have the same right to support Shankar Dayal Sharma. As the CPI-M did not chide the RSP leadership for their action, there is no reason for the RSP to be angry with the CPI-M. It is nonsensical to preach that the proposal to develop cooperation with the Center signifies showing of interest to build an understanding with the Congress Party. The Left-Front was elected to the government in power in West Bengal. This government has to function under the framework of the legislative democracy of the country and within the jurisdictions of the constitution's distribution of power for maintaining the unity of states. This needs mutual cooperation and not confrontation between the Center and the states. Unfortunately, the rulers of this state—the Left-Front—did not feel the need of that cooperation for the last one and half decades. It was primarily due to the CPI-M—the first in line—the Left-Front had political fights with the ruling party in power at the Center which led to the shape of a Center-state confrontation. Such confrontations meant nothing either to the Central Government or to the party in power at the Center but it brought harm to the state and its people. Proposed development projects were rejected [by the Center] one after the other and the industrial and business groups of the country, non-resident Indians, and many multi-national organizations showed no interest in granting loans to this state. The state lagged behind others in the field of industries and also in the creation of job opportunities that spring from it.

Although its negative one-point movement and whole-sale slogans against the Center had provided jobs to some low-ranking Left-Front workers by ending their sluggishness, it overlooked and hindered the interests of the general masses in the state. The good news is that though there was enough delay, the CPI-M has realized the futility of the anti-Center policy. While welcoming the visiting prime minister during the opening of the Vidyasagar bridge and laying of the foundation stone of the Film Institute, the chief minister stressed the need for Center-state cooperation instead of confrontation. He has done the right thing. Opposing this auspicious working path, the RSP wants to hold tight its old hackneyed thoughts and practice.

However, on different grounds the RSP had welcomed the process of change in the international socialist camp. The way the remaining socialist countries are wooing private investors and industries by repealing market control, it would be natural for the Left-Front to welcome in that backdrop the joint venture and private investments in West Bengal. The industrial policy Chief Minister Jyoti Basu has for sometime wished to introduce in the state, has been largely started by Narasimha Rao at the national level. His reform program is more profound and minute. All the state governments also will have to implement this program. The RSP has called it a deviation from the leftist line; that manifests only the conservatism of this party. The question here is not of the right or left, but of the development of the state and benefit to the people. To give preference to it will definitely require sacrifice of the useless polemics on bookish theory. It is necessary for all parties, including his own [that of Jyoti Basu], to warmly welcome the realistic outlook adopted by the chief minister. The state secretariat of the CPI-M registering its reaction to the RSP statement has charged it in the character assassination of the chief minister. This was also too much! The RSP leaders have only issued a political statement and there was no character assassination of the chief minister. The CPI-M should not have reacted so sensitively toward its coalition partner. Political statements should be challenged with politics only and not with egoistic sentiments.

Ideological Basis Fractured

93AS0172B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 21 Oct 92 p 4

[Article by Shivdas Bandyopadhyay: "Indian Communists Face a Difficult Test and Are Afraid of Losing Their Relevance"]

[Text] A lot of water has flown through the Volga, the Yang-tze and the Mekong rivers since the Madras Congress of the CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] was held last January and the Hyderabad Congress of the CPI [Communist Party of India] in April. Did the river Ganga remain inactive? Historic changes are taking place all over the world, changing socioeconomic relations. Through revival and liberal reforms changes are taking place in productive power and its means of production.

All this has caused confusion among the Indian communists who are committed to their old allegiance to Marxism-Leninism. While their former and present guides, Russia and China, desire to improve their economy with the help of the institutions like the IMF and the World Bank, they are vehemently opposing any economic reform in the country introduced by these two organizations. Vietnam, which had the courage to challenge the United States and finally defeated and expelled it from the country after a prolonged war, is today soliciting repeatedly for foreign capital investment and in return wants to give

them such facilities which even a few days ago would have been condemned as bargaining self-prestige.

Russia has accepted the market economy. Even when millions of Russians are living below the poverty line, a few are getting the taste of affluence and luxury, which they have never experienced before. On the other side, by implementing Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms, China's national income has been doubled. However, the picture of Vietnam is not yet clear. And Cuba, despite three decades under revolutionary rule, has failed to diversify its economy. The future of this nation, which is dependent only on one commodity, is altogether uncertain.

It might look at first sight as if the Indian communists have buried their faces in the sand like an ostrich and are trying to deny the existence of the storm, even though at the Madras Congress they have promised to interpret and implement Marxism in the light of Indian reality. Since last January the leadership of both the CPI and the CPI-M have held similar positions on the earthshaking events in Russia. The basic concept of this position is—that it will take numerous facts and studies like that of an education for the scientific analysis of the Russian crisis. They will themselves say whether or not this statement has satisfied their workers at the lower level and successfully provided them sufficient inspiration and guidance.

The theoretical resolution adopted at the CPI-M Madras Congress was not unanimous. The differences of opinion that existed were reflected in the limitation of questions on the change of title for the resolution. It was also hoped that the remaining questions would be clarified in the near future. A committee was also constituted in the Congress for the amendment in the party program. The CPI adopted a similar path at the Hyderabad Congress. The draft program drawn by the CPI-M commission might be reviewed by the politburo and the central committee of the party by the end of this month. It won't be right to hope that the central committee will adopt the whole of the changed program at one shot, because serious differences of views on various important issues have already started coming to the forefront.

All these differences are, of course, not on theoretical issues. As EMS [Nambudiripad—leader of the CPI-M] has said, "The leaders and workers of all political parties must earn the confidence of the common people and ordinary members of the people's organizations. This will also build a healthy competition between different party workers and organizations." A similar topic was also raised at the latest session of the national council of the CPI. It seems that both the parties wish to accept the policy of the survival of the fittest by making structural reforms which will be advantageous in this multi-party competition.

After the Madras Congress, the politburo and the central committee have decided to hold an international seminar in Calcutta in March next year. The subject matter at the seminar will be: The relevance of Marxism in the backdrop of the current changing world. With the objective of finding a future direction after holding discussions on the burning issues confronting the communist world, this seminar will invite the representatives from China, Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba, and other nations. Most probably from this seminar the CPI-M wants to improve its knowledge and understanding in order to help select ways to apply Marxism within the Indian history, culture, and tradition.

Of course, no formal invitation has yet been sent to these countries. Probably they will be sent at the beginning of the next year after the end of the Vietnamese and Cuban party congresses. Meanwhile, a question has been raised on sending an invitation to North Korea in the light of the character assessment of that country's communist rule. It will also be seen how much of the CPI-M leadership's enthusiasm toward the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cuban communists remains after they receive the fuller version of the reports of their respective party congresses. The CPI-M does not fear yet that the communists of these countries will retreat from their class responsibility of leading the proletariat, even though it seems that the basic policy of Marxism-Leninism has become irrelevant to a great extent, especially because of the expansion of the market economy. The CPI-M leaders admit that China is trying to fit in Marxism with market economy through its newly emerging institutions. But they cannot be sure that the Chinese perestroika will not advance to the Russian level. A dangerous indication is the fact that many of their leaders who have held bilateral negotiations on theoretical and political issues with the communists of other countries, did not get a place at the fourteenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Thus, there remains a fear about the possibility of China sending a delegation to the CPI-M-sponsored international seminar.

The Indian communists know that without radically changing their outlook on theoretical politics, strategy, and framework they won't be able to preserve the organizational and political trust. But the strength of the old habit is very indestructible and thus, they won't agree to spell out any compromise or flexibility on theoretical questions. The old group, which is currently holding power in the CPI-M, is apprehensive of losing its influence and authority. The compromising position the party had to face because of the old, octogenarian leaders has become obvious from their reaction to the Federal Government's formation of an anti-riot force. While Harkishen Singh Surjit, general secretary of the party,

welcomed the proposal of dispatching this force to any riot torn area without the consent of the concerned state, Jyoti Basu—another aged politburo member—considered it an interference in the rights of the state and protested against it.

Although the various proposals adopted at the Madras CPI-M Congress admit the need for a change, Marxism is described as infallible, and only in the former Soviet Union was there error in its application. The Congress said that the CPI-M is implementing Marxism correctly in the Indian set up. It warned that the country's new economic policy and the implementation of the liberal reforms of the Rao government under the influence of the World Bank and the IMF will lead the nation toward disaster. And it also mentioned that because of the organizational weaknesses, the party could not become strong outside West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura.

There is great doubt that after expressing their allegiance to the customary resolutions on principles, the old and exhausted leadership of the party will be a catalyst for positive changes. The same thing is applicable also in the case of the CPI, even though this party is more realistic than the other. Only on the two issues—imperialism and feudalism—do these two communist parties think alike and work together. Unless an unexpected and unprecedented change comes to Indian politics, it will be impossible for the communists to position themselves as an acceptable alternative for the country. With their own strength it is not possible for the communists to work as a catalyst for changes in the current situation; they will have to look toward others.

The CPI-M has to a limited extent adjusted to the multi-party system. Its responsibility toward one party supremacy and proletarian dictatorship, however, remains unaltered, though the definition of proletariat is fast changing. Who knows how long this policy will remain useful in India. The growth of the productive forces in the country and the reformation in the related production units might push the communists into the role of a silent spectator. The outcome of this transformation will not be smooth; there will be agitation, collision, and struggle. But will the communists be able to utilize those collisions and opposition in their favor? Do they have that zeal, motivation, and capability? Did they try to oppose the investment of foreign private capital even in West Bengal where they have been in power for 15 years? Or have they just turned their face from it by keeping harmony with their responsibility of providing welfare to the state and its people? The recent events in the country are gradually jeopardizing their role, importance, and relevance. Their task of sharpening the theoretical weapon is gradually becoming difficult. They will have to pass a difficult test in the interest of their own existence and resist the fear of becoming obsolete as a political power.

Playing Dirty Politics

93AS0172C Calcutta BARTAMAN in Bengali
22 Oct 92 p 4

[Article by Pavitra Kumar Ghosh: "The Politics of Mud Slinging"]

[Text] The challenge from the political opposition should be met with better politics. Nothing is achieved by repression and terror. Personal slandering and attacks become more ineffective. But the bankruptcy of the CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has reached such a level that it is trying to teach a good lesson to its political opponents sometimes through brutal oppression and sometimes by mud slinging.

Attempts were made to assassinate Mamata Bannerjee not once but twice. It is surprising that she is still alive, but probably she will have to bear throughout her life the effects of the head injury she received. The persons who are surviving in discomfort because she was not killed are daily spreading new scandals against Mamata in the market. After the failure of their conspiracy to wipe her out completely, the objective of their mission has now become to finish Mamata Bannerjee politically.

When Mamata Bannerjee temporarily halted the anti-Left Front government agitation due to the Bengali [religious] festivals of Durga Puja and Kali Puja, the conspirators took it as a golden opportunity. They stated that Mamata had observed her birthday with close relatives in one day of the [5 days] Durga Puja, but the "Who's Who" of the parliament shows her date of birth as a different date and month. In other words, Mamata Bannerjee is acting falsely.

The proof was immediately available of how prevailing and defusing was their plan to malign her in the eyes of the people. Chennithala—the All India president of the Yuva Congress [youth unit of the ruling Congress Party]—stated on the telephone from far away Kerala that Mamata Bannerjee will be expelled from the Yuva Congress. In Calcutta, Subrata Mukherjee [a West Bengal Congress Party leader] and his followers made comments ridiculing her. Like a fixed musical tune some persons insisted that if Mamata Bannerjee has recorded a wrong birth date in the parliament, then she should be dismissed from the Lok Sabha. It was also suggested that the speaker should be notified about it.

But the game did not reach its climax. On the contrary, all their preparations were totally wasted, because parliament did not care who observed their birthday informally. No one has made it a law that the birthday should have to be celebrated only on the date of birth. The celebrations of Mamata Bannerjee's birthday have no links with the public interest. There is no reason for the general public to worry about the type of food cooked in their house on that occasion. Her followers also did not create any public nuisance on that day.

Chennithal also collapsed because his condition was that of a self-styled leader. Such upstart leaders do not have firm ground under their feet and, thus, they get a kind of gratification from the hollow boasting of being able to brandish their stick on Mamata Bannerjee's head. The situation of Subrata Mukherjee is, of course, absolutely great. His men are getting housing flats with the help of housing minister Buddhadev Bhattacharya. With the blessings of the CPI-M many other rewards are also reaching into their homes. The CPI-M has engaged them like jackals behind Mamata Bannerjee.

When they realized that their drama of assassinating Mamata did not materialize during the holidays of the Puja festival, they imported another drama which alleged that brothers of Mamata Bannerjee are constructing houses by occupying land of other people. With the objective of giving undue importance to this allegation, the daily organ of the CPI-M itself took the responsibility of introducing it in the market in the form of a heartrendering story. For this it could not depend on its own party followers.

It seemed from the propaganda tone that Mamata Bannerjee had illegally constructed a palace by exploiting her ministerial power. But what was built is only a piece of thatched roof on vacant land. Its construction also has not been completed and it remains covered with a thick cloth. Even her enemies will not say that Mamata Bannerjee has any connection with the construction of this room. Some enthusiastic young men are constructing it to provide some kind of a shelter from sun and rain to the innumerable visitors who come to meet Mamata Bannerjee. Even the Calcutta mayor was also very much interested in the building of the same small room. But then he retreated. It is said that neither he nor the police has the right to demolish the room. He cannot even say definitely that room is being constructed unlawfully.

The place [where the room is being constructed] was an abandoned land filled with garbage. It had and still has a cattle shed there. Is it legal? The existence of a cattle shed inside the city of Calcutta is illegal. There was a cattle shed where the room is being built. Why was Sachindra Kumar Ghosh, the tenant of the land, allowed to set up the cattle shed? Dancing to the tune of other people, this gentleman has bought for himself a very complex problem. The corporation and the police will ruin him because, even after receiving the corporation notice he is not dismantling the room. Besides that he is running away from people for fear and shame. In this case Sachin Ghosh has become a scapegoat for the CPI-M.

This was not the first time that the CPI-M had tried a character assassinate of Mamata Bannerjee. When she was little known to the people and was contesting against Somnath Chatterjee—the renowned CPI-M parliamentarian—in an election war, the CPI-M then tried to muddy the water about her doctorate degree. They propagated that Mamata did not have a Ph.D., had not done any research, and that there was doubt that she had ever entered through the doors of the university. They

said that Mamata was doing empty bragging by acquiring some fake certificates of higher education.

Confusion was created in the minds of many people due to the continued propaganda perpetrated by the CPI-M. Some of them thought that Mamata was a liar. But a daily of the anti-Mamata [as printed] camp publishing a xerox copy of the page from the "Who's Who" of the parliament apprised the public that Mamata Bannerjee's Ph.D. degree was genuine and her higher education certificates were not fake.

In this way the whole campaign of the CPI-M to tarnish Mamata Bannerjee as a liar has failed. If it was possible for them, they would have also tried to portray her as a thief. The CPI-M did take that initiative just before the last general election. In their propaganda they said that the family of Mamata Bannerjee has become very rich with many cars, houses, business, and property. But at that time Mamata was not a minister nor did she possess any superpower.

On the other side, innumerable big and small leaders of the CPI-M have become upstarts during the reign of the Left-Front government. The son and relatives of Rajababu [Jyoti Basu] are practically flying in the air. The CPI-M resources now is valued at several billion rupees. But Mamata Bannerjee lives at an ancestral thatched house in a Kalighat lane with her family members.

Sparing all other Congress Party leaders the CPI-M has concentrated only on Mamata Bannerjee. This goes to show the political importance of Mamata Bannerjee in today's West Bengal. When Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose [a noted freedom fighter against the British] lived in this country, he used to say that whenever the daily STATESMAN bitterly criticized him he knew that he was on the right path. But if the paper lowered the tone of criticism, he feared he was making a political mistake. But if the STATESMAN praised him for his action, then he definitely knew that he had made a big mistake. It was because the STATESMAN was the watchdog of British rule in India.

If at the present time the GANASHAKTI [organ of the CPI-M] and its associate newspapers vigorously attack Mamata Bannerjee, then it should be presumed that she is unmistakably marching toward the contest. If the CPI-M makes all its efforts to finish Mamata Bannerjee politically or otherwise, then Jyoti Basu's throne is surely trembling due to Mamata's movement. So long as their jackals pass comments on her, it should be derived that Mamata's popularity is growing further.

To attack personally Mamata Bannerjee, spread scandals against her, and repeatedly try to kill her or assassinate her character are only the manifestations of CPI-M's political bankruptcy. The CPI-M could not defeat Mamata's politics with its own politics and, thus, it has surrendered to its miseries.

Sparing the ideological war, the CPI-M has now plunged into the politics of stirring dirty mud. Their problem is

that mud has not gathered under the feet of Mamata Bannerjee. Therefore, the CPI-M followers have taken up the job of supplying it for her. But their feet are slipping all the time in that mud and cannot even slightly damage Mamata's image.

The highest credit for this goes to Jyoti Basu. He has bankrupted the Left-Front government financially and the CPI-M politically. They have become weak even when they are pretending to be strong, and it will be impossible for them to stand up again.

Marxists Advocate Left Confederation

93AS0276A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
27 Nov 92 p 4

[Article by Monobina Gupta; boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 26: The CPI(ML) [Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist] (Vinod Mishra group) has softened its attitude towards the CPI(M) and CPI and urged the formation of a Left Confederation on the basis of a "minimum agreed programme."

The CPI(ML)'s change of attitude is clear in its draft political organisation report of the forth-coming fifth party congress scheduled to be held in December. The draft, however, asserts, "We continue to insist on no conditions and on the right to disagree on all contentious issues."

Earlier, the Indian People's Front (IPF), a front organisation of the CPI(ML), at its fourth conference last year, had insisted on retaining the right to criticise the Left Front government of West Bengal, even if it wages joint struggles on certain issues.

This was, however, unacceptable to the CPI(M) leadership, who insisted on complete allegiance to the Left Front government.

Even though the CPI(ML) still remains critical of the Left Front government, its political draft has a more conciliatory tone this time. It says, "The CPI(M) is now relatively more critical of the Laloo government in Bihar and we find our perceptions closer to the CPI(M)'s than the CPI's."

It believes that the "collapse of the National Front" has forced major Left parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI to launch independent struggles without the Janata Dal. It cites as an example the land liberation struggle in Bihar, waged by an united front of Left parties including the CPI(M), CPI and the IPF.

The draft report says, "The CPI(M), whose fortunes in the Hindi belt dwindled with the Janata Dal's setbacks, came to a belated realisation that trailing behind the Dal brought about a sharp ideological dilution in its ranks and that it was back to square one in the Hindi belt."

The draft welcomes the "beginning of political cooperation" with not only the mass organisations but also parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI.

It is, however, not without criticism that the CPI(ML) accepts the change in the attitude of major Communist parties. The draft says, "Political cooperation between the CPI(M), CPI and CPI(ML) has begun at the primary level in Tripura and West Bengal, despite terror tactics of the CPI(M) to check our growing influence."

Mamata Bannerjee's Leadership Ability, Qualities Viewed

Able To Draw Crowds

93AS0297A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 1 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Debashis Bhattacharya: "Mamata Set a Precedent by Drawing Together Thousands United Against the Ruling Group"]

[Text] No, Mamata, you did not do the right thing. You organized a meeting in the Brigade Parade Ground—it is all right. But what was the necessity of suddenly ringing the bell with a sound that shook all sides, especially, at noon when the lord of Bengal was taking his after-lunch nap inside the Governor's House. Mamata, you should know that even the God cannot tolerate disturbance at the time of sleeping. We, the subjects, consider our beloved and affectionate chief minister Comrade Jyoti Basu as "God." A "good-for-nothing person" like you wanted to awake him from his nap inside his air-conditioned room? Mamata, did you not see Satyajit Ray's movie "Goopi Gayen"? Do you not know how Goopi was punished for awakening the king from his sleep? He was put on a donkey in a backward posture and thrown out of the village. But there is "democracy" in West Bengal. So, you escape this time in spite of disturbing the sleep of the lord of the state inside his flat in the Governor's House. But at the meeting of the Brigade, you uttered so many "bad words" such as "there is no 'democracy' in West Bengal." You tried to traduce a person like Jyoti Basu, who shines like a bright star. Did you do the right thing, Mamata? Please think for a while.

On Wednesday, as I am writing this article, the exact number of people who attended the meeting at the Brigade Parade Ground called by Mamata Bandyopadhyay is not known. But it was understood from advance information and the way it started that the Brigade meeting of Wednesday would not flop. In fact, by organizing this meeting, one thing Mamata proved very clearly is that the people's attendance at that Brigade meeting is not the final thing. Whether the attendance was 100,000 or 1 million is not the real question. The more significant thing is this meeting aroused an anti-CPM, that means an anti-establishment, storm. Today, Mamata's strongest enemy has to admit that she was able to create that storm single-handedly. Once again, she established the fact beyond any doubt that she has the

only trusted and dependable platform for any kind of anti-CPM movement in West Bengal. To say this thing in such a straightforward manner might enrage Mamata's enemies in her own party. They would slander her more and try to stab her in the back in an organized way. Still, truth is truth.

Mamata is not the prime minister. She does not come within 100 miles in the list of international celebrities like Bulganin, Khrushchev, or Mujibur Rahman. By raising the anti-CPM wave and by calling for a meeting in the Brigade Parade Ground under the banner of the Youth Congress, Mamata created a storm so great that no other person would be able to imagine how to do it. Here is the victory of Mamata. Whether the count is 100,000 or 1 million—it does not make any difference. Because, it must be remembered that this meeting is the product of a single-handed effort of Mamata. At the present moment, there is no leader in the state Congress who can single-handedly organize a meeting of 100,000 people. In the list of those 10,000 to 20,000 to 50,000 crowd organizers, Mamata created a rare example. The mathematical calculation of state politics has also become a little unstable.

Enemies within a party are more dangerous than those outside. So, up until Wednesday morning, numerous attempts were made to stop the meeting at the Brigade Parade Ground. Propaganda was disseminated that the prime minister would positively go to the Brigade on 17 December if not on 25 November. It was asked tactfully where Mamata was getting the thousands of rupees to organize the meeting at the Brigade. The leaders in the Congress party meeting raised the question why a branch organization like the Youth Congress called a meeting in the Brigade. One of the leaders made an angry remark wondering whether the tail of the dog was moving the dog itself. Still, Wednesday afternoon it was found that the crowd was moving toward the Brigade Parade Ground.

Both the Congress and the ruling CPM party leadership guessed beforehand that such a thing was going to take place. The state Congress president Somen Mitra had no alternative but to officially recognize the meeting and thus try to rectify earlier mistakes. The CPM, on the other hand, became concerned. Their profitable business, such like producing of "watermelon" was threatened. [as published] They were nervous that they might lose all of their investments so carefully made for such a long time. That is the point at which Mamata won the victory. She was able to set a fire in the CPM's safe investment field, and on the other hand, she was successful in making the CPM nervous.

The CPM realized earlier that Mamata was its real enemy. So, to reduce Mamata's power, they shamelessly bought the signboard of the Congress party. At the same time, they also bought a group of publicists consisting of a section of loyal, greedy, privileged intellectuals, who were the flatterers of Jyoti Basu. Their only objectives were sudden betrayal and the spreading of scandals. But CPM is unlucky. It was found that after foiling all the designs of

the publicists and tacticians, the meeting of the Brigade created a wave in the politics of the state. CPM is, therefore, rightly concerned. Can anyone sit quietly if his well-manicured garden starts to become dry?

Those disguised-Congressies who took shelter under the signboard of Congress will also be taken aback for a while. In the last election, when the vote of Congress decreased from 42 percent to 35 percent because of the emergence of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] in West Bengal, those disguised-Congressies were extremely happy. But the people of West Bengal have already realized that casting a vote in favor of the BJP in West Bengal is a waste, especially, since it reduced the votes of Congress. BJP cannot win all by itself. On the other hand, in many cases it caused the defeat of Congress. In spite of that the anti-CPM people of West Bengal were trying to find an alternative, because they were disgusted with Congress. It will not be far from the truth if it is said that Mamata once again brought those (who were in search of an alternative) under the flag of Congress. Because the person who could single-handedly gather a crowd of hundreds of thousands in an anti-CPM rally at the Brigade had no doubt identified an alternative. So, Mamata was able to rudely shock the BJP and its politics of "snatching of votes." Furthermore, grievances against the CPM are growing within the Left-Front. Many partners of the Front want to give CPM a good lesson, though not openly, but secretly. They silently welcome any strong anti-CPM platform. I know many of the leaders of the Left-Front parties who are anxiously looking forward to the effects of the Brigade rally. Plainly speaking, their role is not that of friends within the CPM camp. In addition, the organizational powers of parties like SUCI [Socialist Unity Center of India] or the Naxalite groups are gaining strength. Just as CPM alone was not able to oust Congress from power, similarly, nobody can say positively that these anti-CPM waves will not become a unified movement. By that, I do not mean that Mamata Bandyopadhyay will emerge as another "Jay-prakash." But it is now an accepted fact that she took the leading role in successfully encouraging hundreds of thousands of people to rise against the CPM, which has been a power for the last 15 years. If this movement rolls on, or if it is allowed to move on, and if no betrayal forces it to stop in the mud of politics, then the calculation of votes must have to end in a fiasco.

As the party is Congress, so, there are "ifs" in every step. Minister Buddhadev Bhattacharya rightly said that they are not sitting in the Writers' Building to play cards. That is right. Now, those who sit in the Writers' Building have to chalk out a new game plan. They have to start consultations for a new plan. If it needs, the party of Buddhadev has to repaint the signboard of Congress once again by spending some money. It is true, Mamata has gone too far. She has gone up to Brigade Parade Ground. She has awakened Jyoti Basu from his afternoon nap. She has made herself the source of inspiration of an anti-CPM movement. Should Mamata be allowed to go further?

Most Respected Bengali Leader

93AS0297B Calcutta BARTAMAN (supplement)
in Bengali 29 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by Pabitra Kumar Ghosh: "Mamata Is at the Center of Bengali History"]

[Text] There is a proverb that the known beggar does not get help. But Mamata Bannerjee disproved this proverb. She belongs to Calcutta. Her familiar face has been seen many many times in processions and demonstrations in Calcutta. But the way the city of Calcutta responded to her call, there was no precedent of anything like that. Not only Calcutta, but the whole state of West Bengal, from the mountain of the Himalayas to the ocean, was shaken.

I have seen many many meetings take place in the Brigade Parade Ground. I heard all the speeches made by Jawaharlal Nehru from the podium of the Brigade Ground after he became the prime minister. At that time, Nehru was the most popular leader of the nation. His international fame also ran very high in those days. His meetings were always attended by a large crowd. The largest number of people attended when Nehru went to Brigade Ground with Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, the then president and prime minister of the former Soviet Union.

Indira Gandhi also made speeches many times from the podium of Brigade Ground. People also attended her meetings in very large numbers, even when she was not in power. But her largest meeting in the Brigade took place after the end of the liberation war of Bangladesh. At that moment, she was at the top of her career with the record of a recent victory in war. That was a moment when she also hypnotized the international arena. In addition to that, Sheik Mujibur Rahman was on the dais with Indira. His attraction was tremendous at that time.

I have also seen many meetings in the Brigade called by the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist]. I have seen that hundreds of thousands of people listened to the speeches of Jyoti Basu over there. The CPM and the Left-Front have almost monopolized the Brigade Parade Ground for their meetings. After the death of Indira Gandhi, Congress never dared call a meeting at the Brigade. The Left-Front of 12 parties including SUCI [Socialist Unity Center of India] can never even dream of calling a meeting at the Brigade Parade Ground.

Here in that Brigade Parade Ground, Mamata called a meeting which can only be compared to the meeting attended by Nehru, Bulganin, and Khrushchev. No other meeting in the Brigade was as large as this one called by Mamata. Those who can remember the old days said that this meeting even exceeded the numbers attending the famous Nehru-Bulganin-Khrushchev meeting.

It was not an unbelievable thing. Because, Wednesday's meeting did not last long. The meeting lasted for an hour, including announcements, songs, and speeches. Even after the official end of the meeting, Santosh

Mohan Dev was saying something. When the meeting ended, people were still arriving at the Brigade. Even though it was decided earlier that the meeting would continue until 1700, the meeting was ended two hours before schedule. At that time, hundreds of thousands of people were still on their way to attend the meeting. These people were unable to either hear or see anything. But if you are to count how many people responded to the call of Mamata, their number should also be considered.

At the meeting of Bulganin and Khrushchev, there was no such problem. It was a meeting called by the government of India. There was no lack of effort by the government to make the meeting a success. The undivided Communist Party of those days tried its best to make the meeting a success, because it was the first time that the top-ranking leaders of the former Soviet Union had visited India. The Indian communists had a great interest in making the meeting a success. Emotions also ran high. At that time, Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Nehru were considered to be in the higher level of international leadership.

In comparison to all of those factors, Mamata is our own known girl. She did not come from a foreign nation. She is not considered to be a national leader and the matter of international fame is out of the question. She was a minister in the Central Government for one and a half years. But she was not a cabinet minister or a holder of an important portfolio. In politics, her attention is fixed to the state of West Bengal. She does not openly talk about the different issues of national politics. She only thinks and talks about the politics of this state. She identifies herself with the sorrows and happiness of the people of this state.

Mamata Bannerjee came to politics in the golden years of the period of Indira Gandhi. The whole atmosphere was full of excitement at that time. Big talks ran across everywhere. There was a flood of progressive ideas. Inside the Congress Party, there was a large center for Marxist study. Taking advantage of the close Indo-Soviet relationship, the followers of the Soviet Union were on a solid footing inside the Congress. The AICC [All India Congress Committee] was the most efficient and influential with propaganda and publicity. At that time, if Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, the leader of the All India Youth Congress, opened his mouth, a Soviet story came out. He could not deliver a speech without decrying American imperialism.

Mamata Bannerjee never walked in the path shown by those great people. She avoided those big and theoretical talks of politics. She even, in her speech, does not speak about the other big and thorny issues of Indian politics. Has anyone of you ever heard big talks like Kashmir, Punjab, or national integrity from her?

Mamata goes to many places, and she has an establishment in New Delhi. But the pains of West Bengal shadow her mind. The mills and factories in West Bengal are closing. The employment opportunities of the young men and women of West Bengal are shrinking day by day. The

number of unemployed people is increasing. The education system of this state is deteriorating. The development plans are stalled because of shortage of funds.

At the top, the oppression of the CPM is going on. In the administration of Jyoti Basu, political murders have become easy. The police open fire not to disperse the crowd but to kill people. The chief minister congratulates the police for killing people in demonstrations and gatherings. The CPM cadres have established their monopolistic rule by suppressing the voices of the opposition. Mamata thinks day and night about all these things. She rushes to the place where she has heard about an incident of torture or oppression. Tears come out of her eyes while consoling the crying people. She shares the sorrows with the destitute. She tries to do the best she can for the people in need.

So Mamata Bannerjee is considered a daughter in the homes of the Bengalis. I have seen Mamata. She is not at all a person who is afraid of anything. But at the same time, she is not a reserved or imposing person. Even an ordinary person would not feel bewildered or uneasy in front of her. Rather, they feel at ease in her presence. Mamata is really full of affection.

A person like this can be dealt with with affection. She can be taken as an elder or younger sister. But she cannot be put to the forefront to raise excitement. On Wednesday, when Mamata was addressing the largest crowd ever assembled in the Brigade Parade Ground with a side bag on her shoulder, it seemed as if she were talking in her room at her Kalighat residence. When the left portion of the dais broke down, she rebuked her comrades and supporters and, still holding on to the microphone, said that the "bad" people were there in the left side. But hundreds of thousands of people were standing on the left. Can any political leader dare to call so many people "bad"? And can they take the risk of annoying so many people?

But Mamata did not mean to call anyone "bad." It was an informal expression of rebuke. That was the reason why hundreds of thousands of people were not annoyed. Does anyone really get mad at the rebuke of an elder or younger sister?

And here is the magic of Mamata Bannerjee. That is the reason why she can do the things easily which no other person can do. She does not need to have international fame to attract people. She had no need to make important speeches about international or national issues. She spoke to the people of Bengal about their own sorrows and pains in their simple Bengali language. And by doing that, she earned popularity. Not only popularity, she got a place in the minds of the people which nobody has been able to achieve in recent times.

Physically, Mamata is a short person. But if you notice as she moves, it appears that there is no other such stubborn, resolute, and single-minded person as she. She lives in her own family with her mother. But the boundary of her family gradually has enlarged, and finally, grasped the whole of the Bengali society. She is the last successful inheritor in the line of the struggle movement in the history of Bengal.

When she is in the Congress, she must be a follower of the Gandhian ideas and principles. Mamata never asks anyone to take up arms. She walks in the broad street of democracy. She has no interest in the ideas which say that the source of power comes from the barrel of a gun. She has full faith in those things which come up on the basis of popular support.

Still, it appears to me that the revolutionary heritage of Bengal has shaped her to a certain extent. In the tyrannous rule of Jyoti Basu, it is Mamata who says with courage and resolution, "No, we will not accept this oppressive rule; we will not allow the activities of the killers and hypocrites to go on forever."

No one was able to divert her from her stand. The thousands of threats were in vain. The cage of ministership could not hold her in. This kind of courage and right to say "no" belongs to a revolutionary only. Mamata Bannerjee is, therefore, a successor of the people like Kshudiram. The history of Bengal now revolves round her.

Jyoti Basu Leadership Ridiculed in Open Letter

93AS0298A *Calcutta BARTAMAN in Bengali*
1 Dec 92 pp 1, 5

[Article by Barun Sengupta: "Why Is Your Habit of Telling Lies Increasing as you Grow Older?"]

[Text] Dear Jyotibabu,

Now days I often feel very sorry for you. I think about the great difference that exists between the Jyoti Basu whom we saw as a student and in the reporting line, and the Jyoti Basu of today! What a downfall has come to that Jyotibabu! Recently my pain for you has further increased because I have noticed that as you grow older your desire to tell lies and to procure something for your son and other members of your family is increasing. In our country as we grow older practically everyone slowly turns his mind to religious work or increases his desire to engage in good activities or to do something good for others. But Jyotibabu, I find in you everything contrary to that thing! You are a sole creation of the God!

Let us not talk about it. I don't think there is any more need today to analyze your character because many people of this state have come to know you now after seeing you in the seat of the chief minister for the past 16 years. Today I will only reply to your allegations. I will let everyone know how false the allegations are you have made about me in the Brigade meeting ground, and at the same time I will propose setting up an inquiry commission to investigate everything related to this issue.

Jyotibabu, you said at the Brigade meeting that I went to the Writers Building to seek money from you and at that time asked you, "When the officers are willing to pay money, then why aren't you agreeing to it?" You further told the meeting that in reply you informed me that you won't give any money because I—whom you knew for a

long time because I was working for ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA—have links with the "reactionary forces" at home and abroad.

I was stunned to hear that statement. I can't imagine how you could utter such a big lie standing in front of so many people! Of course, I heard that you were saying such a thing behind my back for sometime. I also heard, that from time to time you told some people both inside and outside your party: "They will surely write against me, Chandan [Jyoti Basu's son], and my other relatives because they came to seek money from me and I didn't give it to them. Thus, being enraged they started writing against my family members."

Jyotibabu, I thought that because you are an old man and to save face from some well-known people you told a few lies behind my back, and there is no need on my part to be excited about it. But as you are now uttering those lies in open public meetings, I feel it absolutely necessary for me to let the people know about the whole truth.

First, it needs to be mentioned that I have never gone to you or to your government to seek money to start a newspaper. After making a plan to publish the BARTAMAN newspaper, I first went to the UCB [United Commercial Bank]. I was well-known to the then-chairman of that bank. I told him everything and on his advice tried to prepare a project report. He pointed out that if after examining the project report the Industrial Development Bank of India [IDBI] approved it, then only the UCB bank would give the loan. When I was going ahead with the preparations of the project report, one day Dr. Kanailal Bhattacharya [a former minister] called me and asked: "Are you trying to publish a newspaper?" I replied: "Yes." He then inquired: "Have you made arrangements with any financial institution? From whom are you taking the loan?" When I replied: "the UCB and the IDBI," he got mad and asked: "Why aren't you going to the West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation [WBIDC]?" I said: "Because your government might create obstacles, they could also raise different hitches and the WBIDC might cause unnecessary delay."

Kanaibabu chided me. He knew me from my student days and said: "Why do you function with such worthless, cooked-up ideas stored in your head? Go to the WBIDC, they all know you and there will certainly be no unnecessary delay with your project. And if the project is approved after the scrutiny of the experts, then why should we politicians create obstacles to it? Why have you developed the idea that political decisions are made on granting the WBIDC loans?"

Then I went to the WBIDC and I will never forget in my life the way the officers and the workers of the WBIDC helped me in this project. Chairman Tejamoy Ghosh, Executive Director S. Banerjee, and many other small- and high-level officers, in fact, taught me from scratch

how to prepare a good project report. Even the typists of that organization on their own initiative typed quickly many pages of my project.

After all of the examinations and investigations it was decided that the WBIDC, the IDBI and the United Bank of India [UBI] would grant the loan and the WBIDC would take a significant amount of shares of the BARTAMAN. Thereafter, the IDBI and the WBIDC boards scrutinized everything, and both the organizations approved the loan separately. The approval of the UBI came later. After getting the approval in this way, I ordered a rotary machine from Germany through the UBI.

After all this, when I was quickly moving forward with the work of the new newspaper, suddenly Kanaibabu called me and gave the bad news. He said: "Don't you know yet that Jyotibabu has all of a sudden stopped everything?"

Being surprised I asked: "How can it be possible? The board of directors of both the organizations—the IDBI and the WBIDC—have given me separately their approval notes, and now how could Jyotibabu stop it? Isn't the WBIDC an autonomous body? Could the chief minister give orders whimsically? He cannot legally do such a thing."

Kanaibabu said: "Don't get upset, try to understand everything coolly. Yes it is illegal, but he has stopped it. He has ordered that no money could be released for this project. I have protested against it and Tejamoy Ghosh has also sent a very strong memo. But he is adamant about not changing his position under any circumstances. He said that there were reasons and no money could be sanctioned for this project. Yes, it is a showing of muscle, but don't lose your head and listen to what I say. Go at once to Jyotibabu and tell him everything. He has known you for a long time and I believe that he will change his opinion if you go and talk to him."

I told Kanaibabu: "You are making a mistake. It can't be that Jyotibabu will change his views if I go and talk to him. He did not change his mind after you and Tejamoybabu talked to him. And how could it be possible that he will do it if I talk to him?"

But still Kanaibabu repeatedly said: "Go at once to Jyotibabu."

Jyotibabu, so finally I came to you. I clearly remember that I was in your room on that day for about three to four minutes. I told you at the beginning that all of them—the WBIDC, the IDBI and the UBI—had approved the loan and I had ordered the machine. Now I hear that you have stopped everything. Why and for what reason?

Jyotibabu, in reply you said: "Why should the WBIDC lend money to starting a newspaper?"

I said: "Their board of directors have given me the letters of approval and they are also taking shares.

Moreover another financial organization—the West Bengal Financial Corporation [WBFC]—has given loans to the papers like SATYAYUG AJKAL and recently to BHARATKATHA. Why do you object to my paper?"

Jyotibabu, on hearing it you said: "No, no, those were mistakes and now no more loans will be given." (However, recently the WBFC has granted a big loan to GANASHAKTI).

Then I said: "If the WBIDC had told me about it earlier, then I could have progressed in a different way. They gave me the letter of sanction and the machine is now coming through the UBI."

Jyotibabu, I still clearly remember that after hearing this you became a little soft and said: "Let us see what can be done."

On that day I told everything to Kanaibabu and he became very optimistic. But Jyotibabu, I knew that you would not change your mind. You will surely continue all your efforts up to the end to stop the setting up of my newspaper.

I inquired from the WBIDC and found out that my apprehension was correct. You ordered everything to stop and remained firm on it. I consulted the lawyers and they said: "The WBIDC cannot go back after giving the approval and if you file a case, the victory will surely be yours. But they will drag on with the case year after year with government money and during that time it will be impossible for you to set up the newspaper."

It was advice that needed consideration. At that time some WBIDC officers suggested: "Without going into the case, go to the IDBI and the State Bank. The IDBI has already approved everything, and now you only approach the State Bank, which also gets money from the IDBI."

I moved in that line. I knew very well Subba Rao, the then-chief general manager of the Calcutta State Bank. The gentleman was our age and is now a managing director of the State Bank. He told me: "Let me do the initial investigation and then talk to the chairman. I will let you know everything within seven days."

After seven days Subba Rao told me: "Yes, we agree to examine in detail your proposal. Give all your IDBI and WBIDC papers to our officers and let them see it."

They scrutinized everything and after one and one-half to two months the State Bank approved the loan. The WBIDC informed the IDBI in writing: We are withdrawing our name from this project.

Thereafter, I tried to go ahead with the work of the BARTAMAN as fast as possible and in December 1984 BARTAMAN was published.

Jyotibabu, you practically presumed that I would go for the case and march from court to court to get damages from the WBIDC. Therefore, you sent the BARTAMAN

file to Somnath Chatterjee [noted West Bengal lawyer and Left-Front member] and also asked him to prepare the case.

But I didn't step into that path. Jyotibabu, you were surprised that even after all this the BARTAMAN newspaper was published. I have heard that you told one of your friends regretfully at that time: "No, we couldn't stop it."

Jyotibabu, this is exactly the story of my seeking money from you. All the papers on this issue are surely there in the files of the WBIDC. I also have many letters, and I will present them to the investigation commission if it is constituted. You can also bring your papers there borrowing them from the WBIDC.

Jyotibabu, you have further said that the Congress-I government has given money to bring out the BARTAMAN newspaper.

From where does the Congress-I government come into it? The IDBI had agreed to pay the loan to the BARTAMAN on the recommendation of the WBIDC, then how does the Congress-I government come into it? But Jyotibabu, if you say that the IDBI and the State Bank are Congress-I government-controlled organizations, then my question is: Has the Congress-I government granted loans to your son Chandan Basu and your son-in-law Bejan Nag because they have received lots of IDBI loans for many companies through the WBIDC, the WBFC, and different central banks? Well, Jyotibabu, has the Congress-I government given loans to them to buy you?

Jyotibabu, if you can prove that I or the BARTAMAN have knowingly taken any money from the Congress-I or any other political party, then I am ready to make two rounds on Alimuddin Street [where the CPI-M headquarters are situated] with shoes in my mouth [highest insult in Indian Culture].

Jyotibabu, you have further said that I have links with reactionary forces at home and abroad.

You know that by raising a similar allegation the Congress government arrested me under the MISA [Maintenance of the Indian Security Act] during the emergency and kept me in jail for nine months. They moved me into four jails in West Bengal. I wrote a letter to Mrs. Indira Gandhi from jail: "As I was arrested under the MISA and cannot approach the court, I would like to know from you how I have become a dangerous person to the state? Is the government endangered by criticism? It goes without saying that Mrs. Gandhi did not reply to that letter."

Jyotibabu, now I see that you are also uttering exactly the same allegations for which I was detained without trial during the Congress regime. If you had MISA (warrant) in your hand, you would have also arrested me.

Jyotibabu, but I am being forced to say that I feel like laughing when I hear from you about the links with

reactionaries at home and abroad. How can a person accuse others of links with reactionaries at home abroad when his closest relatives regularly make rounds of foreign countries to collect commissions for the purchase of machinery, who has more than one closest associate with secret accounts in the Swiss banks, and who himself visits Geneva at least once whenever he goes to Europe! Bless Jyotibabu, I bless you.

Jyotibabu, I know why you are so angry with the BARTAMAN newspaper and with me because at first you had the idea that I was Pramod Dasgupta's [former strong CPI-M leader, now dead] man. And now you are enraged and angry because the BARTAMAN regularly publishes reports on the income of the Basu family members in different malicious ways when practically no other paper does such a thing.

Jyotibabu, by raising false allegations against us at the Sunday Maidan meeting you tried to make the people understand that I am regularly publishing stories on the malicious activities of the leading members of the Basu family because you once refused to give me money to start the paper. But Jyotibabu, Buddhadev Bhattacharya [minister of culture in the West Bengal government] has also instructed all his departments to give minimum advertisements to our newspaper. We get at least 1.5 million rupees less worth of advertisements annually from the government and semigovernment sources than any other Bengali newspapers of the same age. Have we written on any day anything about the corruption of Buddhadev or his family? Or have we written that his relatives have become millionaires?

No, we didn't write those things. Jyotibabu, why should we call someone a thief if he has not stolen anything? Buddhadev Bhattacharya's family has not plunged itself into the business of making money, but your family members are in the business of making millions of rupees. And in the past 16 years some of them have become rich like the Birlas [famous rich industrialist family of India].

Jyotibabu, shouldn't a newspaper write if the family members of a chief minister makes millions of rupees with his help and the scope provided to them by the position of his chief ministership? Then Jyotibabu, why should we run a newspaper? And what is the need of a newspaper?

Jyotibabu, in conclusion I have a proposal. You write to the chief justice of the Supreme Court to set up a commission, and then you send to the commission all your charges against me. And I will only tell that commission the stories about your three relatives becoming like the Birlas. That commission will investigate. If it proves that your allegations against the BARTAMAN and me are true, then, Jyotibabu, I am willing to write everything in the BARTAMAN in the name of your son Chandan Basu. And if it is found that my charges are true, then will you resign immediately?

Jyotibabu, it is a fact that I made the paper with a loan from the bank. From Tata and Birla [two rich tycoons in India], who does not take loans from the bank? Will the West Bengal government be able to set up an industry without a bank loan? But at the same time let me inform you that our record of repaying the loan is not bad compared to any other Calcutta newspapers. But many of your closest relatives, after taking loans from various banks and financial institutions, are neither paying the interests nor the capital year after year.

Jyotibabu, you have become old, now start thinking about the reply you give to the other world after death. Being the chief minister of West Bengal for 16 years, you have only made Chandan Basu "Chandan Birla." On hearing it everyone in the other world will show their contempt to you.

Jyotibabu, you are the fountainhead of corruption in the Basu family, and so long as you remain a fountainhead, I and my paper will write against you and the Basu family's corruption. By threatening, you won't be able to suppress us because the Congress-I government could not do it in 1975-76.

Sincerely, Barun Sengupta.

CPM Accused of Arrogance, Warned of Impending Downfall

Sowing Seeds of Destruction

93AS0296A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 5 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Sunit Ghosh: "The Left Front Arrogant Musclemen Are Not Learning Lessons From the Epics of History"]

[Text] Mamata [West Bengal leader and Congress Party parliament member] is guilty of a huge impropriety. Does she have to steal the sleep of the Left-Front, especially that of the Communist Party of India-Marxist [CPI-M] leaders, because a few years ago a Marxist "cadre" banged her head intending to kill her and because of that pain she cannot sleep most nights even today? But this Congress Party leader is doing exactly the same thing in West Bengal. When the Left-Front leaders were napping peacefully in the warm winter afternoon, Mamata disrupted their sleep by ringing the bell.

After seeing the pictures in the newspapers and on Doordarshan [television] we could not at first believe that Calcutta's Maidan [meeting ground] would be overflowing with people at a meeting called by Mamata. It seems that she herself also could not believe it. The intelligent Left-Front leaders laughed over Mamata's adamance. Presuming that the people wouldn't give the expected response to her call, many of them expressed their superficial regrets and said "this time the girl will be humiliated." The leaders of her own party ridiculed her behind her back. Some of them even broke promises by canceling at the last moment their scheduled trip from

Delhi to Calcutta. The only exception was Santosh Mohan Dev [federal minister for iron and steel]. He went to Calcutta at Mamata's request leaving all his important work behind in Delhi. But the things that followed were at first unbelievable. Tens of thousands of people from rural areas went to Calcutta, spending their own travel money to see and hear Mamata. Mamata could not bring millions of people to Calcutta by tempting them with a "see Calcutta" trip and pay their bus or truck fare. So far not even a Left-Front leader could bring such a charge against her. The people have responded spontaneously to Mamata's call.

Different explanations are available from the Left-Front parliamentarians on the success of this Mamata meeting. Some of them feel that the assembly of a few lakh people in the background of a stable of 38-40 percent of the Congress Party voter strength in West Bengal does not deserve to be called anything exceptional. All musclemen of the Congress Party attracted to the politics of "show off" and "aggression" are now said to be with Mamata. The people in the villages have become more prosperous during the Left-Front regime and realizing that they have now nothing more to gain from the government, they lined up with the Congress Party. Again, in the views of some others, those "antisocial" elements—who were crowding different leftist parties, including the CPI-M—have now become the supporters of Mamata. But still some questions remain unanswered—Why wasn't it possible for any other Congress Party leader to hold such a huge meeting earlier despite having vote banks. With what expectations are people—who were really the musclemen of the Congress Party or who provided encouragement to musclemen—suddenly standing behind Mamata? And why should the musclemen, who are the supporters of the Left-Front, run behind Mamata during the period that the Left-Front remains in power?

In fact, the condition of the leftist leaders is now exactly that of an ostrich. Digging their faces into the sand, they want to deny the truth of an anti-Left-Front storm. In other words, the people there, like bees sitting tightly in the honeycomb of power, do not want to realize that some other persons are standing below with torches in their hands to destroy it. They do not want to admit that being extremely disgusted with the 15-year Left-Front rule, the people went to the Maidan the other day to express their indignation. Maybe it is normal that after enjoying the sweet taste of power at one stretch for a long time the rulers have lost their strength for admitting the truth. The Congress Party lost that strength in West Bengal, and possibly for that reason it could not return to the Writer's Building again after 1977. It was due to this blindness that Mrs. Gandhi was removed from power in 1977. For the same reason the communist rulers of the Eastern Europe, including the former Soviet Union, are without power today. The leftist leaders also do not want to realize how fast the ground under their feet is slipping.

There are reasons for the ground slipping. The leftist parties have repeatedly tried to cover up their failures under the shield of some mind-boggling talk. Since

independence, they have created obstacles in the progress of West Bengal by adopting the path of negative politics. Although the federal government's discriminatory policy was primarily responsible for the delay in finding a solution to the refugee problem in the state, the leftist parties also created no fewer obstacles to the smooth rehabilitation of the refugees. It was because of them that the new colonies for Bengalis could not be built in the Andamans and Dandakarnya. It was because of their dangerous politics that thousands of people were forced to live year after year in inhuman refugee camps in the state. Being unfamiliar with creative thinking, the leftist parties in the name of revolution and class struggle held agitations, strikes, detained people on flimsy grounds, and thereby disrupted normal life and also destroyed the buses and trams. They did not once think at that time that government property is in fact public property, which we often hear from their mouths today. By opposing the introduction of computers, they shut out the sunrise of this industry in the state. The frightened and terrified industrialists were forced to move to other states. The Bengali industrialists also today do not consider West Bengal a safe and fair place for investment. Because of the closure of the mills and factories, tens of thousands of people lost their jobs and turned into beggars. The two generations have now become a pawn to the jobless politics of the leftist parties.

Being confused with the enchanting talks of the leftist parties, the general public thought that perhaps the looks of the state would be changed if these apparently "idealist" and "honest" people came to power. They thought that their followers would change West Bengal into a modern state through their untiring work. But they were completely disappointed; witness their performance in the past 15 years. Putting the interest of the party above the interest of the state, they gave importance to the expansion of the party at all levels under the pretext of ruling the state. All the government offices, including the Writer's Building, were turned into party offices. They created such an atmosphere in the state that constructive work was not possible. Despite the withdrawal of paying the same duty on steel and the nonexistence of any sign of discrimination from the federal government, the state could not march a step forward in the industrial field. Compared to Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu, West Bengal has lagged behind 50 years in the past 15 years. West Bengal is today a bankrupt state in all senses. The state government has to borrow money today from private financial institutions for the payment of wages to its employees. Is there anything more shameful than this?

Maybe the people of the state—especially the people of that generation who were children 15 years ago, and witnessed only naked party politics during the Left-Front regime, and received deception, false promises, unemployment, and poverty—are eager today to come out of that dark tunnel of despair. These people might have seen in Mamata the light of freedom and, thus, they have responded spontaneously to her call.

But is it possible to continue a movement by only ringing the "death bell?" The people will naturally wish to know who will come to fill the blanks after the death of the worthless Left government? What is their character and feature, their policy and philosophy, and also their program? How do they want to make backward West Bengal the best state again? How will they create a work atmosphere in the state and speed up development activities? The Congress Party must have its own program. Is Mamata's objective to implement that program or has she any other idea beyond it? Mamata has not yet said anything to the people on all these issues. There is no reason to believe that, with the death of the Left-Front government, West Bengal will turn into a heavenly state. The looks and characters of the people, who are surrounding Mamata today with an expectation of being lucky tomorrow, is not something that can raise inspiration. There is also no reason to believe that the situation in the state will change if they ever enter into the Writer's Building holding her skirt. Thinking about the future, from now on Mamata has to start selecting her colleagues, coworkers, and followers. Under the pressure of the situation Mamata might have to think one day whether it is really possible to work for the interest of the state by remaining inside the Congress Party, because as long as the central leadership of the Congress Party continues flattering the leftist parties for its own position in the Central Government, it won't be possible for Mamata to declare a holy war against the Left-Front.

But one thing that can now be said emphatically is that Mamata has today acquired the recognition of the Left-Front as the "undisputed" Congress leader of West Bengal. Those who raised the slogan "Mamata come and see the might of the CPI-M," perhaps do not remember that such challenges were once made by demons like "Sambhu-Nisumbhu" and "Madhu-Koitoa," but they could not escape from the hands of Durga [the Goddess of strength]. In the modern era the all-powerful Ceausescu also could not escape the wrath of the people. The problem is that the arrogant and haughty Left-Front "musclemen" do not want to learn any lessons from ancient and modern history because Marx or Lenin did not teach them those things.

Difficult Times Ahead

93AS0296B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 2 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Shivdas Bandyapadhyay: "CPM Leaders; Let Go of Your Arrogance, Be Alert, Difficult Times Are Ahead"]

[Text] The political equation of West Bengal is gradually changing, and it first became obvious from the "Bangla Bandh" [strike] called by the West Bengal State Congress Party on 6 November. This strike was called to protest the killing of seven persons from police fire at Hariharpur in the Baharampur District four days ago. The matter became clearer at the 25 November public meeting of Mamata Bannerjee, leader of the Yuva

[youth] Congress Party. This was solely Mamata's meeting and the number of people gathered there surpassed many times her own expectation and imagination. This gathering was as much against Chief Minister Jyoti Basu as it was also to show her strength to Somen Mitra, the president of the West Bengal State Congress Committee.

Meanwhile, the CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] or the Left-Front called a countermeeting four days after Mamata's meeting, and its objective was to bewilder the state Congress Party supporters and to keep them under some pressure by dramatically placing before them the CPI-M's own organizational might. It also wanted to improve the caved-in spirit of the low-ranking leftist supporters. Moreover, they could not tolerate the fact that Mamata would push them behind in such a manner.

The Left-Front gathering was much larger than Mamata's meeting. But there is doubt whether it could wipe out the excitement that was created at Mamata's meeting or the memory and influence built there in the minds of the people. Through her meeting Mamata has successfully been able to position herself as the only powerful Congress Party leader to bear the brunt of the CPI-M. Her declaration on her decision to resign from the federal council of ministers in order to stay next to the victims of CPI-M "torture" has further dramatized her success.

Of course the CPI-M itself is responsible for Mamata's rise. A hotheaded CPI-M cadre's hitting Mamata on the head with an iron bar at a procession during the strike days in South Calcutta, has brought her into the lime-light. And now by challenging her, organizing a countermeeting, and adopting the policy of force and pressure to make that meeting successful, the CPI-M and the Left-Front have put the crown of undisputed leader of the antileftist camp on Mamata.

The Left-Front announcement of a countermeeting induced all Congress Party supporters to put aside their group conflicts and gather behind Mamata. As a result the Mamata-sponsored meeting received a more enthusiastic response from the Congress Party supporters than the strike called by the State Congress Party. Many state Congress Party leaders also feared the same thing. There was a spontaneity at the Mamata meeting that manifested a protest against the Front's breaking of promises and deficiencies in the government administration. It was also noticed from this incident that, sensing the revival of the Congress Party, the medium-size farmers in the villages changed their allegiance and crossed camps.

Maybe a large part of the whole thing was inevitable. Any party remaining in power for 15 years is bound to be inactive and complacent especially when during this long period there is a downfall in the political movements based on specific issues. The leftists also did not look sincere enough in their opposition to the Center's new

economic program. The ideological confusion has made the party organization ineffective in thought and deed and also inefficient as a government. The awful condition of the government fund—which is mostly their own creation—has further increased the government's worthlessness and deficiency in administration.

The workers and supporters at the lower level of the party would not have been lost had the government not encouraged greed in vying for jobs and other favors. In that scenario, the party and the government, of course, would not be losing their trust over such a small thing. It is difficult to say definitely when the government will be able to come out of this blind alley. But it is a fact that the party leadership is gradually failing to keep the low-ranking workers of the party away from this infighting. In addition the hesitancy and perplexity of the ministers leads to a belief that there is an overall lack of cooperation and coordination among the political authorities in the state. However, the chief minister himself is firmly denying it. But then why a few days after the declaration of any government program, is it being changed because of the pressure and criticism of the public? There were many similar instances of indecisiveness in the recent past. How could the government support an insolent and stupid decision to call a transportation strike in Calcutta in protest against the "hooliganism" of the Congress workers? Which section of the people did the minister of transportation want to teach a lesson?

If an elected government that won with a huge majority presents itself as arrogant and retaliatory, then it is to be presumed that it is losing its connection to the public and also failing to understand them. Pradeep Bhattacharya, a Congress Party leader, has reminded them of an old saying on losing senses at the time of crisis. In the Gita [Hindu religious book], there is also a reference to a similar situation. It said that when the God wants to destroy someone, He first takes away from him all his rational senses. It will perhaps sound rather cruel to forecast such a thing right now about the Left-Front. Of course it cannot be said immediately that Mamata's meeting will have a definite impact on the forthcoming local elections, but it will serve as a warning to them. If the Left-Front government, especially the CPI-M, does not heed the mood or will of the people and change its behavior and pattern of talking, then it will make a big mistake because hereafter challenges from the Congress Party will gradually increase and there will be more contests between them on the streets. The Front leadership's foremost task should now be to resolve the disputes among its partners, and the CPI-M should take the initiative, especially if it remembers its past links with the Communist Party of India.

Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the Forward Bloc

Mamata did not hide what she wants, although it was a little surprising not having any reaction from Delhi on her decision to quit the council of ministers. She repeatedly stated at the meeting that it would not be possible to

defeat the CPI-M through votes because they will win by rigging the election. The question then arises: What other way can the CPI-M be removed from its position? At first Mamata will try to build up locally more authoritative positions in the state Congress Party, which will also match her newly acquired charisma. But this is not a matter of state politics only, it also involves the question of the wishes of the Congress high commands. She should realize that on the question of Ayodhya, cooperation from the CPI-M and leftist group is indispensable to the Congress high command. Keeping that in view she has already intimated to the public an alternative course. She has clearly stated that if the need arises, she will use the platform of the "Save West Bengal Committee" instead of the state Congress Party. The question is: Will the rank and file of the Congress workers and supporters agree to assemble under that circumstance under the "Save Committee" banner?

This committee has suddenly and mysteriously emerged on the state's political map especially at a time of political uncertainty and confusion in the state. The committee first appeared when the refugees from Dandakarnya came to Marichjhanpi to set up their permanent shelter. If a "friendly government" did not exist in Delhi at that time, then the state government would have been swept away at the pressure of the refugees. Since then, this committee has revealed itself from time to time. At one time, it emerged as a "committee to save education." Only a few days ago it appeared as a committee against the handing over of the Tin Bigha [enclave to Bangladesh]. The SUC [Socialist Unity Center], the Bharatiya Janata Party, and some groups of the Naxalites are on this committee. Mamata once planned a trip to Cooch Behar to take part in a movement of this committee but at the last moment gave up. The same type of committee was also there behind the Hariharpur incident. Unfortunately, the two parties in the United Front—the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc—were its partners.

One common concept that has always remained with these committees is to adopt a severe anti-CPI-M stand; and during this drive those who have joined are the so-called intelligentsia, human rights organizations, and the workers of the save environment movement. There is nothing wrong with setting up such committees, but also suspicions develop about their objectives, their links behind the scene, and also their motives. This committee has supplied money for making lots of festoons and banners in support of the Mamata meeting. There is no reason to believe that Delhi is not aware of their activities and characters.

By using this platform, in the near future Mamata might build up a movement similar to the type of emancipation movement in Kerala, which toppled the leftist Namboodiripad government in 1958. The Congress high command would like to stop her from taking that path; this Mamata has herself said while speaking about her future program. Such a possibility cannot be totally

disregarded. A dream of Siddhartha Shankar Ray's [currently India's Ambassador to the United States] will be fulfilled if Mamata advances on this path. Since the last election, he has been in favor of unity among all anti-communist forces. To defeat the CPI-M he even did not mind pulling the BJP into the union. But at that time he could not get any subscriber to this program. If Mamata now starts her activities from the platform of the Save West Bengal Committee, then Siddhartha Shankar Ray will be very happy. Jyoti Basu, the undisputed leader of the Left-Front, gave no importance to this possible Mamata program and just discarded it. He might be thinking that it is impossible to do now what was done in 1958, but the CPI-M has to be very careful and should take care of its home if it wants to challenge Mamata and her supporters. Above all, do the CPI-M leaders definitely know that after the end of his own need for leftist support, Narasimha Rao will have no responsibility to keep intact the CPI-M government in West Bengal?

Banning of Organizations Said Strengthening Them

93AS0331A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
12 Dec 92 p 6

[News Report: "The Government Provided Opportunity For Protection When Banning Parties"]

[Text] New Delhi, 11 December—After the announcement of the imposition of restrictions on the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sang (RSS) and its cooperating parties, and the following period of uncertainty, these parties have been given time to be fully prepared. They had three days between the announcement of restrictions and their implementation. During the 1975 emergency, these parties were banned without any notice. After the first shock, these parties strengthened their network so well that they succeeded in making the work of Indira Gandhi's government almost impossible. This time they had at least four days to make preparations. These parties not only had time to remove the drawbacks they had during the emergency, but were also able to form a new strategy.

On Sunday, as soon as the disputed structure in Ayodhya was destroyed, the parties of the RSS family were restricted. The next day, the government hinted about its action plans. During the last three days, however, it was uncertain as to which party should be banned and which should not be. During this time, the major leaders of these parties gave important instructions to their assistants and went underground. No arrests have been made as we go to press; still, the RSS and VHP leaders have left their homes as a precaution. These leaders usually work behind the scenes.

The RSS leaders believe the government has succeeded in imposing restrictions; however, it cannot stop their beliefs. Instead, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and other parties will be used to present the RSS ideology in a more vigorous manner. That is why the secretaries general of the parties associated with the RSS have been

told to go underground. They have acted as spokespersons for the RSS in most cases. Most of them are single; therefore, they are not very concerned about their families. They can work for their party with full energy.

All organizations associated with the RSS have been told to work in their own regions. The underground leaders of the RSS will be responsible for coordinating the work of these parties. These leaders will also decide on the strategy. According to RSS sources, underground activities will stay mostly within the country; however, if necessary, they will expand into other countries also. The RSS is active in 35 nations under various names. Similarly, the VHP also has branches in 102 nations. During the emergency, volunteers living abroad aided RSS activities financially.

The RSS leaders tell us that they have told their members to be prepared for a lengthy struggle. However, they feel that the restrictions will not remain for more than two or three months this time. The reason for this is that the restrictions are weak on the legal front. Government circles feel that restrictions on the RSS without any on the BJP are meaningless. In addition to the BJP and the VHP, the RSS has 55 other organizations. It has a network of parties among laborers, students, government workers, and even among the aborigine tribes. It has asked all of its cooperating parties to spread the RSS viewpoint about the Ayodhya issue and the December 6 incident to every village.

According to our sources, the people who have gone underground have been instructed to hold small meetings. Various parties within the RSS family have been cooperating under a united structure. The responsible leader of each unit will be in contact with other units, will provide reports to his superior, and will receive instructions. These parties have advised the workers who have gone underground to withdraw money from their bank accounts, so that if their properties are confiscated, their money will at least be saved. In addition, there is always a need for money to operate an underground organization.

Commentary Notes Steps Against Communalism

*BK1112083292 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 0245 GMT 11 Dec 92*

[Commentary by A.H. Zaidi of the TIMES OF INDIA]

[Text] The Narashima Rao government has taken yet another step forward in its fight against communalism. The government issued a notification last night banning the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad, World Hindu Council], the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], the Bajrang Dal, the Jamiat-i-Islami, and the Islamic Sevak Sangh of Kerala. Although the ban order would be a clear indication that the government was not dithering in taking strong measures against communal forces, its effectiveness would be known when the order is enforced.

Since the demolition of the Babri mosque at Ayodhya on 6 December, the opposition parties and a section of the media were trying to create grave doubts about the central government's ability to restore normalcy and uphold the Constitution. The prime minister, Mr. Narashima Rao's interview on Doordarshan [television] and All India Radio last night came as a rebuttal of any such criticism. At a time when the scourge of communal violence has taken over large parts of the country, Mr. Rao assured the nation that he himself is monitoring the situation hour-to-hour and city-to-city. While he correctly pointed out that there is a perceptible improvement in the situation, what was causing anxiety was that violence had spread to certain areas hitherto unaffected. He said the government is taking steps to arrest the escalation of violence. The prime minister reiterated his government's commitment to secularism and warned that the country would disintegrate if we deviated from the path of sarvadharm sambhav [religious harmony]. The prime minister ruled out the possibility of an internal emergency, as is being speculated in political circles. To reassure the minority community, Mr. Rao made it clear that the structure will be rebuilt once normalcy is restored.

In conformity with the Congress Party stand, the prime minister also stated that a magnificent Rama temple will be built alongside the mosque. The prime minister defended the central government's approach on the Ayodhya issue by saying that we did exactly what we are empowered to do under the Constitution. He explained that the central government could not but trust the Uttar Pradesh government that it would protect the mosque. The visibly distressed prime minister said that he is determined to make amends where ever they are needed. He justified the arrests of Mr. L.K. Advani and other BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and VHP leaders, saying that whosoever and howsoever big and otherwise important they may be, the law is much above them.

The prime minister said that some parties had responded positively to his desire to have a united front against communalism. He said there is complete unity in the congress party.

New Policy of Granting Overseas Indians Citizenship Viewed

*93AS0298B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 1 Dec 92 p 5*

[Editorial: "Identity of Offspring"]

[Text] A child born of an Indian mother in a foreign country will have the right to get Indian citizenship; a bill to this effect has been approved by the Lok Sabha. So far this right was vested only to a child of an Indian father and now it has been decided that the mother's identity means no less. It is a normal decision, normal in the literary sense, because a man is normally a child of his mother. In fact, no relation is more close and natural than the relation between the mother and the child. Once

the people did not know at all the role of a male in the birth of a child. They only knew that the child was the creation of a woman and this creation was the result of her mysterious power. This concept existed in all countries in ancient civilization behind the worshipping of mother power. The prevalence of the matriarchal framework of society—maybe it was the system for all nations—could be the cause of it. But with the advancement of civilization the importance of man gradually gained its position and expanded. Man imposed his authority in all spheres of life and belief. Naturally, therefore, the system of identifying the child after the father's identity came into existence. The heads of all societies slowly made arrangements to give that father's identity a supernatural propriety—as if it was natural and God given—in regard to social customs, manners, thoughts, and ideas. In Indian society the display of vanity and rigidity regarding family prestige has not been abandoned even in the last phase of the 20th century. Therefore, the existence of a strong patrimonial influence in the laws of this traditionalistic nation was not unexpected. But the protest against patriarchy did not also remain obscure in this country, it recently became especially loud with the expansion of the women's liberation movement, and the politicians and the government leaders were forced to recognize it. Women's rights were recognized in different fields and at different levels. Still many rights have not yet been achieved, but the signs of their advancement for gaining recognition are obvious. The decision to grant Indian citizenship to a child of an Indian mother born in a foreign country by amending the 1955 citizenship act is one such sign, and as a result the discrimination between man and woman has been removed in another field.

This is one side of the new law, but it has another side, too. If a child born in a foreign land takes Indian citizenship, then the Indian population will increase. But it does not mean that the population of India will go up in the same proportion. A big section of the people born in foreign lands will not be, and also do not want to be, citizens of this country. But the fact is that an Indian citizen has a legal claim to stay in India. Therefore, any increase in the number of Indian citizens at home or abroad means a possible rise in the Indian population. The question is: Will it be wise for the Government of India to give any kind of encouragement in favor of growth in the population? Evidently, population control is not the only important, but it is the foremost, task for the nation. The Federal Government has promised to take initiative in this regard. But it becomes self-contradictory when, on one side, it is the initiator of the population control, and on the other, provides encouragement to increase it. The main question is not of how much the population has increased due to a policy, but what indications the government has given in this regard. As on the one hand the new law has established the equal rights for men and women, on the other, it has pointed out that the government has no objection if the number of Indian citizens increases. This is a dangerous sign and contrary to population control. For achieving

two objectives, if one is trapped between two mutually opposed policies, the only way to select the best path for him will be to go in for the more important objective and follow it up. In this case, it can be said without any hesitation that the need for population control gets first priority. The question arises: Will the demand for equal rights between man and woman be completely sacrificed to meet that need? There is only one way left to have a just amendment of the citizenship act by maintaining the equality between man and woman, and that is, to encourage the child born of an Indian citizen in a foreign land to adopt the citizenship of that country. A necessary amendment to this effect can be brought about in the laws. In fact, not only this law, but it is also necessary to amend the laws and customs in all spheres in such a way so that they can meet the basic objectives of population control.

Poll Panel Stops Rolls Revision in Assam

93AS0277A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
26 Nov 92 p 1

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 25: The Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, today indefinitely suspended revision of electoral rolls in Assam and charged the state government with disregarding his directives on the issue "knowingly and without any plausible reason."

A four-page order said the intensive revision would remain in total abeyance till the Assam government implemented the commission's directives issued in August this year in consultation with the home ministry.

The suspension order follows a communication from the Assam government that the procedure laid down by the Election Commission might make revision difficult and disorderly. "On the one hand there are demands for full implementation of the commission's instructions but on the other there might be numerous complaints of harassment of genuine Indian nationals. The issue is of a very sensitive nature and will have to be handled in a manner that does not generate unnecessary and conflicting claims," the government communicate said.

The commission said such logic was at variance with the commission's directives and could not be accepted. It also rejected the state government's suggestion that the 1990-electoral rolls be treated as the basis for further revision.

The commission's order said, "all further work relating to the intensive revision of the electoral rolls shall remain in total abeyance, until such time as the state government of Assam implement directions issued in full consultation with the ministry of home affairs."

Details on Country's Foreign Debt Given

93AS0273A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 25 Nov 92 p 17

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 24 (PTI)—INDIA's total identified external debt amounted to \$71.5 billion at the end of 1991, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has said.

In its just published external debt statistics, the Paris-based inter-governmental think tank of 24 rich industrial countries says India's long-term borrowing repayments due in 1992 amounts to another \$2650 million.

Of the \$71.5 billion external debt, India owed as of December-end, 1991, the maximum was to multilateral financial institutions amounting to \$27.46 billion, to the IMF \$3.47 billion, \$13.96 billion to Official Development Assistance (ODA) from rich countries on bilateral basis and \$10.33 billion to other bank claims.

India's short-term debt amounted to \$4.18 billion on banks claim and \$1.37 billion by way of export credit.

Among the sub-continental countries, Pakistan's external debt as of 1991 was \$23.91 billion while that of Sri Lanka amounted to \$6.87 billion.

OECD said at the end of 1991, the total external debt of developing countries stood at a staggering \$1,490 billion, compared to \$1,446 billion at the end of 1990. The claims held by OECD countries, either directly or indirectly through international organisations accounted for \$1,306 billion.

Claims on central and eastern European countries, which include the ex- U.S.S.R., amounted to \$169 billion at the end of 1991, compared to \$155 billion at the end of 1990.

The debt owed to OECD countries and financial markets rose by \$44 billion in 1991, it said. The rise in outstanding debt stocks showed new lending mostly in Asia and Europe, since debt relief negotiations had brought about decreases for several countries, particularly in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, the OECD said.

Most of the world's major debtors increased their borrowing, after the cut-backs in 1990, the exceptions being Brazil, Argentina and Poland, Mexico, which is now receiving new credit, was the country with the greatest debt spurt.

According to OECD, most of the debt increase was concentrated on Asia, followed by central and eastern Europe, including the former U.S.S.R., and the North America and West Asia.

Asian countries which increased their borrowing include Indonesia, India and China and all low-income countries, whose debt increased rapidly in both 1990 and 1991, OECD said.

The debt of 53 countries fell during the year mainly in the western hemisphere and sub-Saharan Africa as most of them benefitted from debt relief negotiations, buy-backs, debt-equity, debt-nature and debt-health swaps.

Economic Policies Attacked in Parliament

93AS0288A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
26 Nov 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 25—The Government's economic policies came in for sharp criticism in both Houses of Parliament today and significantly some of the sharpest barbs came from the Congress(I)'s estranged ally, the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]. In the Rajya Sabha it joined a walkout by the non-BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] Opposition demanding reversal of the policies. This was the first time that the AIADMK found common cause with the Opposition and so openly demonstrated its disillusionment with the Congress(I), reflecting further deterioration in their relations.

In the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, strongly contested the Opposition charge that the new economic regime was anti-worker and had led to large-scale retrenchment. In a brief but spirited intervention, which left the Opposition cold, he said the Government was willing to look into specific cases of retrenchment.

Claiming that he was sensitive to the problems of the workers, Mr. Rao offered to have a "detailed debate" on the issue. Every aspect of the new package would be "elucidated and re-elucidated" during the debate. He accused the Opposition of hurling unfair charges at the Government simply to impress the workers who were in the Capital to take part in a trade unions' rally.

Not satisfied with the Prime Minister's defence which came after a nearly 35-minute concerted Opposition attack during zero hour, several Left and Janata Dal [JD] members collected in the "well" demanding an end to "privatisation." They also wanted the House adjourned.

The Deputy Speaker, Mr. S. Mallikarjunaiah, who was in the Chair, tried hard to restore order, but when the members continued to ignore his repeated plea to return to their seats he abruptly adjourned the House for lunch.

BJP's Low Profile

In both Houses, the issue figured during zero hour and saw sharp exchanges. In the Lok Sabha it was essentially a Left-Janata Dal "show" with the BJP, which had recently called a Bharat Bandh to protest against the new economic regime, strangely keeping a low profile. In fact, on one occasion, some BJP members clashed with the Left and Janata Dal, demanding priority for discussion on the alleged attack on one of the BJP MPs [members of Parliament], Mr. Harin Pathak, in Ahmedabad recently.

Earlier the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] leader, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, said the economic policies had proved "disastrous," resulting in a steep price rise, stagnation in industry and agriculture and loss of innumerable jobs. He demanded immediate reversal of the policies, saying that the Prime Minister should not try to "belittle" the concern of lakhs of workers who had converged in Delhi to protest against the new economic approach.

The former Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, urged the Centre to enact a bill which the erstwhile National Front Government had introduced to provide workers' participation in management.

Others who spoke included Mr. Basudeb Acharya (CPI-M), Mrs. Geeta Mukherjee (CPI), Mr. Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc) and Mr. Piyus Tirkey (RSP).

Congress Protests Ignored

In the Rajya Sabha zero hour turned virtually into a discussion hour on the Government's economic policies despite vigorous protests by the Congress. The refrain of the Opposition, in which the AIADMK joined in, was that the economic policies must be reversed.

At the end of nearly 50 minutes of speeches attacking the policies leading to inflation, retrenchment, growing dependence on foreign aid, the entry of multi-nationals and the fertilizer price hike which could lead to falling foodgrain production, the non-BJP Opposition and the AIADMK members walked out.

It was Mr. Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M) who first seized the opportunity to draw the attention of the House to the "lakhs of people gathered at the Boat Club" to protest against the crushing price burden, the growing retrenchment, the public sector undertakings disinvestment scandal, the opening of the country to multi-nationals, and in short the "disastrous economic policies" which had stopped advancement in all sectors of the economy. He warned that if this continued, not only the economy but also the sovereignty of the country would be in danger.

He received instant support from the entire Opposition, including the BJP whose member, Mr. J.P. Mathur, however took care to add that "my support is not to you but to your cause." Mr. Mathur added to the list of "wrong policies" wheat import by the Government.

"Due Notice Required"

There were a few murmurs from the Congress benches at first, they then grew louder. The ruling party found itself at a disadvantage with only a few of its members present. Some brave attempts were made by Mr. S.S. Ahluwalia,

Mr. N.K.P. Salve and some others to contain the attack and they protested that if the members wanted a discussion on the economic policies it should be done properly with due notice.

But the concerted Opposition attack was carried forward relentlessly by Mr. Jaipal Reddy (Janata Dal), Mr. Yashwant Sinha (SJP), Mr. Murasoli Maran (DMK), and Mr. Gurudas Dasgupta (CPI), Mr. G. Swaminathan (AIADMK) also chipped in. While Mr. Reddy accused the Narasimha Rao Government of having totally reversed the accepted economic policy of the country, Mr. Yashwant Sinha said the Government was making deals "behind the back and under the table" and not coming out openly with its policies. The entire public sector was being destroyed, he added.

Not to be outdone, Congress members tried to meet the onslaught by pointing out that the Janata Dal Government, with the BJP and the Left on either side, had been busy with the Mandal and Mandir issues and the impact of their economic policies had emptied the reserves and led to the selling of the country's gold.

But by that time the non-BJP Opposition had decided to walk out, and so it did followed by the AIADMK amid shouts of "Desh Bechna Band Karo" ("stop selling the country").

Trade Deficit Widens by 150 Percent

93AS0274A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
27 Nov 92 p 8

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 26 (PTI): India's trade deficit during the April-August, 1992 amounted to \$2,301 million against \$919 million during the corresponding period in 1991, registering an increase of 150.3 percent, the deputy minister for commerce, Mr. Salman Khurshid, told the Rajya Sabha today.

The increase was largely due to the hike in imports, the minister said, adding that a short-term action plan for ensuring the revival of the export momentum has been formulated.

World trade: India's share in the world trade had decreased to 0.54 percent in 1991 from 0.59 percent in 1990, Mr. Khurshid said.

Trade balance: India's aggregate trade deficit in 1991-92 amounted to Rs [Rupees] 3,835 crores or \$1,555 million which was the lowest in a decade.

However, the minister said the trade deficit amounted to Rs. 7,485 crores or \$2,622 million during April-September, 1992.

National Stock Exchange Set Up in Bombay*93AS0310A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 28 Nov 92 p 13*

[Text] Bombay, Nov. 27—The National Stock Exchange of India (NSEI) Limited has been incorporated today as a company under the Companies Act, 1956, according to an Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) statement. The NSEI is being set up by financial institutions and banks with the IDBI as the nodal agency.

The setting up of the exchange in New Bombay was recommended by a highpower study group. The group said in its report last year that the NSEI should be "promoted immediately as a model exchange" that would "provide access to investors from across the country on an equal footing, and work as an integral component of the national stock market system."

There was no immediate word from the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE), which had opposed the national exchange, saying: "Superimposition of a new structure into the system without removing the existing constraints can aggravate the problem without in any way offering any solution to the complex set of issues facing the securities industries."

A BSE official said the government nevertheless had gone ahead with the setting up of the exchange. The BSE is the oldest and the largest exchange in the country with two-thirds of all stock business.

The official said the governing board may meet to consider the decision though nothing had yet been fixed.

The IDBI announced that the NSEI is taking steps to establish a stock exchange to provide comprehensive nationwide stock trading facilities to investors.

"A wide range of securities, including equity, debentures, PSU bonds, government securities, etc., will be traded on the exchange by means of an electronic trading system. By encouraging high networth corporate trading members with dealer networks, computerised trading, market making and short settlement cycles, the NSEI will be an important step in upgrading trading facilities for investors and bringing the Indian capital market in line with international markets," the statement said.

Finance Minister Addresses India Forum Meeting*93AS0312A Madras THE HINDU in English
1 Dec 92 p 9*

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 30—The Union Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, today assured a gathering of Indian and foreign industrialists that the country's economic reforms programme, launched 18 months ago, would remain irreversible even if a non-Congress(I) party assumes power.

Dr. Singh, however, did not give an assurance that the political consensus on reforms could be formally incorporated into a document signed by various parties. He said "Asking for a formal declaration from political parties is not a viable proposition."

Speaking at the "India Forum meeting," organised jointly by the Confederation of Indian Industry and the World Economic Forum here, he said some political parties did not like foreign investment, but did not object to the market economy. Some others were against the exit policy, but accepted the debureaucratisation policy.

The Finance Minister spoke at length about the stability of the reforms process, as it had created doubts in the minds of foreign investors.

"We will persist": Speaking on the theme, "taking stock of 18 months of reforms: what are the next steps?" Dr. Singh said that in the next three to four years the objective would be to reduce the combined fiscal deficit of both the Central and State Governments from an expected 8.5 per cent of the GDP in 1992-93 to not more than 5 per cent. This would require a major effort of restraining Government expenditure, restructuring taxes, cutting down public sector inefficiency and reducing subsidy. "We have done most difficult things in the past 18 months and we will persist in that direction."

The main aims of the Government over the next three to four years would be to work towards an inflation rate below 5 per cent per annum. As part of the monetary policy reforms, to achieve among other things an inflation rate below 5 per cent, the interest rate structure would be deregulated to keep the real rate positive. "There should be a positive incentive for investment in risk bearing area," he said.

Changing banking structure: On financial reforms, Dr. Singh said that in the next three to four years, the banking structure would be changed to raise the Indian system to international standards, both in terms of capital adequacy norms and provision for bad debt. "The process will not be painless. We will welcome larger presence of the international community, as it would help Indian exports to grow and also mobilise larger flow of foreign investment into India. We will also encourage more private sector banks under RBI [Reserve Bank of India] guidelines to grow."

Another medium term objective was to ensure annual foreign direct investment in terms of disbursement at \$1.5 billions. If that happens the country would have great flexibility to manage its balance of payments (BOP) position. In fact, the core of the medium terms reforms over the next three to four years was to ensure that reliance on concessional flows decreased and dependence on non-debt creating flows increased.

Referring to the role of the public sector, Dr. Singh said the essence of Government thinking was to make them leaner and fitter.

The Government had started the process of disinvestment "up to 49 per cent" of profitable public units and once they were in position, their efficiency and management would improve.

'Rigid old system': Dr. Singh said, the rigid old planning system will have to give way to market determined system. This is our goal and objective. "As this required the support of the trade unions, the Government was working on it. Responding to the demand for exit policy, he said the National Renewal Fund, set up for redeploying and retraining the work force in sick and losing enterprises, would become operational soon at the official and private industry level.

Arjun Singh's reservation: The Human Resource Development Minister, Mr. Arjun Singh, said it should not be forgotten that the country has launched its development policies in a democratic set-up. This was one of the reasons for resilience in the country and the bold attempts being made to integrate the domestic economy with global forces. Mr. Singh, however, expressed serious reservation about the exit Policy, stating "as far as I know there is no document which contained this term." He said a lot of damage had been caused by the use of the expression "exit policy." According to Mr. Arjun Singh workers cannot be left at the cross-roads, while economic restructuring continued. The safety net was meant for looking after the workers' interest.

Reliance on Subsidies in International Trade Protested

BK1712120692 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS
in English 4 Dec 92 p 8

[Editorial: "Competitive Issues"]

[Text] The US decision of November 30 to impose anti-dumping duties of 1 percent to 59 percent on flat-rolled steel from the United Kingdom, France, Italy and nine other European countries should serve as a reminder to the reform-bound Government of this country that international trade is not as competitive as propagated. The US Commerce Department's finding is that the UK subsidises a fifth of the cost of carbon steel, thus giving the lie to the claim that privatisation (of British steel) has induced cost competitiveness. The French subsidy is even larger, over one-fourth the cost. The EC, on its part, had in the second half of November,

imposed anti-dumping duties of 11 percent to 30 percent on steel exports of Croatia, Czech and Slovak republics, Hungary and Poland. The point will not be missed that underpriced steel reduces costs of machinery made with it and the benefit of the steel subsidy flows via the producer goods into consumer goods.

It is extremely unlikely that the First World subsidy is confined to steel. However, it is also unlikely that the prevalence of subsidies—in electronics, telecommunications, power plants, etc—will find articulation in a world dominated by transnational corporations. These draw upon intermediates and components from the advanced capitalist nations—and only marginally from elsewhere—for sale to the First World which accounts for 90 percent of world trade. The global assemblers, bloated by mergers, optimise their costs with subsidies and cross-subsidies. Only unresolved discrepancies, primarily affecting manufacturers dependent on the home market, surface as complaints. From wine and cheese to steel, what the US Department of Commerce had detected so far is the tip of the iceberg.

International competition is startlingly underpinned by subsidies. It is senseless to compare Indian prices with those offered by First World suppliers. But precisely on the basis of such loaded comparison, India's policy makers hold, at the prodding of the World Bank, that industry in this country is hopelessly uncompetitive and should therefore be sent to the death row. This done, so runs the recommendation of the Fund-Bank, India should freely let in all imports, including intermediates and consumer goods, at steeply reduced Customs duties (It would be a different matter if import policy discriminated in favour of capital goods.) The Government is, however, all set to do their indiscriminate bidding. Accordingly, an exit policy gets priority over the establishment of a Tariff Commission (required to assess where the country should draw the line on import reform); foreign investment gets precedence over domestic investment in industry; and India's key public sector enterprises—BHEL [Bharat Heavy Engineering Corporation], for example—are deprived of orders by the Government which, in the name of fiscal reform, favours aid-financed turn-key contracts to foreign enterprises. Even the domestic private sector (the cement industry, for example) is being singled in furtherance of globalisation.

Paper Urges Increase in Airborne Forces*BK1812090192 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS
in English 3 Dec 92 p 8***[Editorial: "For Special Strikes"]**

[Text] The ever expanding influence of technology over concepts and conduct of war has drastically altered military thinking. Only a few years ago it would have been impossible to think of a cavalry that flies, but the development of attack helicopters has changed the entire scenario, an armoured formation is now unthinkable without an integrated helicopter wing. There is one concept, however, that remains unchanged, if not enhanced in its importance. That is the role of airborne, and special forces in future wars. Airborne forces have essentially a rapid deployment function. Their training allows for great mobility and to considerable depths. The dropping of 2 Para at Tangail during operations in Bangladesh, 1971, proved to be a decisive action, and possibly the best use, as yet, of airborne forces. Nevertheless, India does not seem to have understood their potential.

The Report of the Estimates Committee on the Ministry of Defence, 1991-92, highlighted a breathtaking instance. The idea of raising an airborne division was accepted in 1976, but till date there has been no progress. Indian Army has the manpower required for this raising, and the potential, but has not utilised its resources to enforce a decision in that regard. This is surprising given the vital need for such a formation. Decision makers in the Ministry and Army Headquarters must consider this proposal as a matter of urgency. Whatever form a paratroop organisation assumes in the future, can it be effective without a committed air wing? An airborne division must have its complement of fixed and rotary wing aircraft. This alone will add consistency and regularity to training and develop confidence between the airmen and the paratroopers. During operations, belief in the other's ability is vital, and many an opportunity has been lost in its absence.

Trained and highly motivated for the execution of irregular operations, special forces differ from airborne forces in all respects except that both are trained to jump from aircraft. The operational capabilities of the special forces are best reflected in their impressive record during deployment in Sri Lanka. Now that the three para-commando battalions are to be reorganised as part of an Army Special Forces Regiment (ASFR), it is imperative the process is taken to its logical end. To best use the special forces, the military must also have an integrated special operations command. As part of the command, and handling the marine roles, can be the naval commandoes. And the counter-terrorist wing of the National Security Guard must also be part of this command, and

handle the tasks it has been trained for, and in which it has been under employed. Technological advances for special forces have been substantial in the last years, chiefly in vehicles for special operations. These allow groups to operate deep inside enemy territory. India saw a hint of that during the capture of Chachro in 1971; and in future operations may well be in the same terrain.

Reserve Bank Governor Tells Knowledge of Scam*93AS0289A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 27 Nov 92 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 26—The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), Mr. S. Venkitaramanan, today told the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) that he was aware that the stock markets were "hotting up" much before the scam actually broke and that money was coming in from the Gulf countries and Amnesty schemes, but had chosen not to interfere as the Union Budget was being prepared.

In a 16-page statement, Mr. Venkitaramanan said that the RBI had been aware of the sources of funds in December 1991 but "in the interests of the annual Budget" had chosen to disclose the facts only after it was presented.

But, before the JPC questioning could get underway, members took strong exception to a note circulated by the RBI through the banking division of the finance ministry which had portions blacked out in ink. The document, which was circulated last evening, was the report of an inquiry into the operations of Vijaya Bank. Entries on Reliance shares and the bank's dealings with institutions such as the Eastern Shipping Company had been obliterated.

Mr. Rabi Ray, Janata Dal MP [Member of Parliament], raised the matter and the JPC chairman, Mr. Ram Nivas Mirdha, immediately summoned Mr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia during the tea-break to explain the "blacked-out portions." Though what transpired thereafter was not known, members said that it was a "blatant attempt" to obfuscate the issue and constituted a breach of privilege.

In another disclosure, Mr. Venkitaramanan said that his son had purchased a registered company belonging to Bombay industrialist Dhirubhai Ambani's son-in-law in Madras. The company was bought after Mr. Venkitaramanan ceased to be finance secretary during 1986-89. "It is now absolutely clear that the connection between the big industrial house and RBI was always there," said a Janata Dal MP.

In his statement, said a CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] member, Mr. Venkitaramanan basically tries to pass the buck and keep his record clean. In the first part, he outlines the economic scenario for 1991-92 and says that since the foreign exchange reserves were

then in a delicate position, it had been necessary to bolster them. "This was nothing short of the RBI being soft on foreign banks which indulged in malpractices at their merry will," said a member.

Mr. Venkitaramanan says that it was because of the RBI's role that the balance of payments situation stabilised. Giving a clean chit to the bank, he says that "the RBI does not, should not and cannot continually monitor the internal management and operations of financial institutions."

But he confesses that the RBI supervisory system did not take action "effectively" in 1991 when a number of "irregularities" in other banks were brought to its notice. Also admitting that the RBI had known in 1986 that banks were indulging in fraudulent practices, Mr. Venkitaramanan says, "It does not follow that the fraud would have been necessarily prevented."

In his defence, he adds that top managements were lax, no targetted inspections were made and profits arising from funds management were not being scrutinised.

Mr. Venkitaramanan admitted that he had rung up the then State Bank of India chairman, Mr. M. N. Goiporia, in the presence of Harshad Mehta on a complaint from the latter that his account was being monitored.

After the Budget was presented, he says, he was in touch with the finance minister and had subsequently made a statement in Hyderabad cautioning against the speculative boom and saying that financial institutions had to intervene to bring the share index down.

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Venkitaramanan says that the RBI "needs a critical evaluation and renewal."